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THE TYNDALE SOCIETY



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Editorial

Things that seem opposite often turn out to be complementary, much as the triangulation of differently seeing eyes makes three dimensional vision possible.

One such opposition is that of past and future. Hans-Jörg Modlmayr, whose letter from Germany appears in this issue, recently staged his Dance of Death song cycle in Quedlinburg Cathedral, a site of serious significance since it was there that Henry II founded the German nation, and which Heinrich Himmler chose to be the spiritual centre of his own Imperial SS. The presentation, fifty years after the end of the war, was intended to address the future through a real focusing of the past.

Another apparent opposition is that of grace and law: 'law/is what we read in its lines, between/them grace'. The inwardness of the spirit and the outwardness of conduct parallels that of the written and the spoken words. Christ promotes both: he confounds the Adversary with 'it is written'; he teaches his followers 'you have heard it said... but I say unto you.' When it comes to translation there is an inevitable wrestling between the inner sense and the outward norms of language.

A third opposition which perplexes the church continually is that between tradition and reformation. In fact reformation normally claims to be a renewal of an older tradition than the one it is challenging. 'Traditional' is a label frequently attached these days to the language of the AV, with the paradoxical effect that Tyndale's words actually sound like a modernising, like a break with tradition.

It is indeed to Tyndale's credit that, in his translation, he makes the written word sound spoken; as if, indeed, the thoughts expressed had been conceived in an English-speaking mind. And so many languages have received the Scriptures translated not just from the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, but from the English.

Tyndale's enterprise started with an apparently simple aim, to put words spoken and written in the past into the hands of a common labourer in order that they might free his mind and soul. But beyond that hope the gesture reached to the renewal, or even the recreation, of Europe and its church, and through an imperial mission to the farthest corners of the world.

He was at home in the country among his Gloucestershire kin, at home with their local speech; he was equally at home in the great cosmopolitan city of Antwerp with its intellectual and sensual vigour described by Werner Waterschoot. But it is questionable whether he would have been at home in our absolutely suburban culture, which knows nothing of great enterprises or of common virtue.

The Europe and the world that are to be renewed must not be left to the brokers and bureaucrats of either persuasion. It deserves a fuller vision, of more dimensions, and of enormous wealth: one that indeed is worthy of being put into the hands of the common labourers of Gloucestershire and the world.

“Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted; blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.”

Who wrote those words? No doubt they derive directly or indirectly from Jesus. But who wrote them? St Matthew, you may say, or some unknown first century writer. We don't really know. But we know that the English words are William Tyndale's.

Or who wrote, “In the beginning God created the heaven and earth. The earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the deep”? Or who wrote, “The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak”? Again, the words are William Tyndale's. In fact, some eighty per cent of the Authorised Version of the New Testament, and a large proportion of the Old Testament, come to us directly in Tyndale's words.

This October the Church celebrates the 500th year of his birth. This is incidentally why I am preaching here this morning on our new Dean's first Sunday with us, and I am sorry to take the pulpit from him. But I had agreed long before Raymond Furnell's appointment to take part in the thanksgiving for this extraordinary, and largely forgotten, Englishman.

Tyndale's translation of the Bible into English was not the first. John Wycliffe, who died a hundred years before Tyndale's birth, had made a translation from the old Latin version of the Bible, the Vulgate, and had been duly persecuted for it. It was an age when it was felt to be dangerous to put the Bible into the hands of ordinary people, as it might undermine the authority of the Church and might lead to idiosyncratic interpretations - as it certainly did in some cases. Wycliffe's translation had nothing like the vigour and directness of Tyndale's. This is how he began the Book of Genesis: “In the first made God naught of heaven and earth, the earth forsooth was vain within the void, and the darknesses were upon the face of the sea”. It doesn't quite work, does it? A Bible in those words would be highly unmemorable, even incomprehensible.

Tyndale was luckier in his times. Printing had just been invented, so a Bible need no longer be a rare and expensive luxury for the wealthy. There was therefore a strong incentive to produce a popular translation. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 had sent Byzantine scholars scurrying to the West, where they had revived the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. So it was possible to translate directly from the original texts. The great classical scholar Erasmus had himself produced a much more accurate Greek text of the New Testament than the one in the Vulgate. Add to this the vigour and sense of adventurousness generated by the Renaissance; add the fact that English as a language was just beginning to struggle free from the dominance of French and Latin. Add also Tyndale's own genius for words, and you can see why Tyndale's Bible was such an explosive event.

He paid for it with his life. He was not interested in translation for mere literary reasons. What he was translating was the word of life; the word which brought God's truth, as he said, to ploughboys as well as to priests; the word which undermined much of what was then taught by the Church in the days when Reformation was in the air. He was an

uncompromising anti-Papalist preacher; and for his pains he had to live in exile on the continent for the last twelve years of his life, and eventually was strangled and burnt in Brussels at the age of forty-two in 1536. By that time thousands of his Bibles had been smuggled into England, but they too were captured and burnt, and today only one original copy survives.

Tyndale's work and even his name were suppressed. But his words, please God, will live for ever. He not only shaped the Authorised Version of the Bible which was published seventy-five years after his death. He also shaped the English language – and made it usable for serious purposes, lively, vigorous, poetic, earthy.

Not all his phrases caught on: "The Lord was with Joseph and he was a lucky fellow" appears rather more soberly in the Authorised Version as a reference to Joseph's prosperity. The serpent's words to Eve, "Tush you shall not die", became the much more gentlemanly "Ye shall not surely die." Tyndale's marginal comments disappeared too, like this grim example of 16th century humour – a comment on the story of Aaron and the golden calf: "The Pope's bull slayeth more than Aaron's calf".

Does all this matter? Does the actual language of the Bible matter over and above its meaning? Does it matter that we now hear and read the Bible mostly in pedestrian English, as befits those who live in a more pedestrian age? The meaning is generally clearer, but does it matter that the resonances are weaker?

Yes, it does matter. First, because it entails a disastrous loss of memory. The words and phrases which formed English culture are no longer understood in context, are no longer part of everybody's mental equipment. We no longer learn them and take them deep into ourselves. Phrases like "fight the good fight" or "salt of the earth" might just as well have come from some commentator in Sportsnight rather than from – you've guessed it – William Tyndale.

It matters secondly because if we lose Tyndale's work we lose poetry. And religion needs poetry because it needs words to fire our imaginations, to lift us beyond ourselves. Religion without poetry is like crumpets without butter: or if you want a more poetic image – like a bird without wings.

Thirdly, it matters because we are in danger of losing the vividness and directness of Tyndale's language. Modern English is flabby. We write about "situations" and "relationships" and other abstractions. Tyndale wrote for ploughboys and his words cut deep furrows in the minds of a whole nation for some 400 years.

One way of celebrating Tyndale's quincentenary would be to look out that old.

Authorised Version when you get home, and read a few of the great passages – the first chapter of Genesis, the opening words of St John's Gospel, the Beatitudes in Matthew Chapter 5. And then give thanks to God for the man who gave them to us in our own language, and shaped the language itself, and made it fit to be the language of worship.

TYNDALE'S WORKS

'As mentioned in the March issue, the three volumes of Tyndale's Works from the Parker Society are available on disc, and can be either IBM compatible, or suitable for Amstrad PCW8512.

This is without the Introductions, footnotes, or the marginal notes of the Parker Society. Having carried out several checks I feel confident that I have corrected all the errors in my original typing – the hardest was spotting the difference between a colon and a semi-colon. On average it has taken almost an hour per page.

Although this was done to help me in writing about Tyndale's theology I have made arrangements for my discs to be copied on IBM compatible discs. The cost of the three volumes on disc is £47, including UK postage. They are available from me, the Revd. Ralph Werrell, 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, CV8 1JQ, England.'

Canon Jack Higham: Commemorating Tyndale at Peterborough

The Tyndale Exhibition which the Canon Chancellor set up at Peterborough Cathedral last October has proved so successful that it has been extended until the end of this summer. Originally it was intended to be on display for three months, but the continuing level of interest has been so high that the life of the exhibition has been twice extended, and the closing date is now 30th September.

Peterborough Cathedral Library is particularly well stocked with Tyndale items, including Jugge's 1566 revision of Tyndale's *New Testament*, which has been the centrepiece of the exhibition. Lessons were read from this copy at two services last October, which gave the Canons the challenge of sight-reading 16th century print. Both services also included extracts from *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, read by one of the Canons.

The other Tyndale books on display are:

The Obedience of a Christian Man, Antwerp, 1528

The Exposition of the First Epistle of St John, Southwark, 1538

The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, London 1548

A Brief Declaration of the Sacraments, London 1548

The Whole Works of W. Tyndall, I. Frith and Doct. Barnes, London 1573

In addition it seemed appropriate to illustrate the development of the English Bible, which we were able to do from our library, displaying the following volumes in addition to Tyndale's *New Testament*:

Coverdale's *New Testament*, 1538

The second *Great Bible*, 1540

The *Matthew Bible*, edition of 1551

The *Geneva Bible*, 1578

The *Bishops' Bible*, 1602

The *King James Bible*, editions of 1629 and 1630

Canon Higham, the Canon Chancellor, wrote a short booklet about Tyndale's life and achievement, with a section on the history of the English Bible from Tyndale to the Authorised Version, which has been on sale at 20p. More than a thousand copies of this booklet have been sold.

The other key feature of our Tyndale celebration at Peterborough was the visit of Professor David Daniell to our Theological Society, when he spoke on "William Tyndale and the English Bible". Our average attendance of about forty was doubled on this occasion, and Professor Daniell's enthusiasm was so infectious that we arranged a coach-trip to his Tyndale exhibition in the British Library. The coach was oversubscribed, and although some travelled in private cars, we got the impression that we could have safely ordered a second coach. Professor Daniell kindly met our party at the British Museum and gave us a personally guided tour of the exhibition.

The Bishop of Peterborough tried to persuade the Post Office Board to issue a Tyndale commemorative stamp, but was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, as our Tyndale exhibition in the Cathedral still draws a steady stream of visitors, and as our Tyndale booklet continues to sell, we feel we have played our part in marking this important anniversary.

Notes & Quotes

Professor Jean-Marc Gachelin of the Université du Littoral writes:

Did you know I had a shock on first looking at the statue of W.T. on the cover page (of the *Tyndale Society Journal*)? It looks very much like that of another William, W. BARNES of Dorset, which you can see next to a church on the main road crossing Dorchester from east to west. You know that Peter Levi wrote a book entitled *The English Bible, from Wycliffe to W. Barnes*. The latter translated the Song of Solomon into the Dorset dialect.

Neil Tomkinson of Ribbleton, Preston has provided the following cautionary quotations:

In all departments of literature, there is a strong disposition among the Icelanders to critical severity. A curious instance of this kind occurred about a hundred years ago when an unfortunate man was publicly whipped as a punishment for the errors he had committed in a translation of the book of Genesis.

– Sir George MacKenzie, *Travels in Iceland*, 1812

We talked of Kennicot's edition of the Hebrew Bible and hoped it would be quite faithful. JOHNSON. "Sir, I know not any crime so great that a man could contrive to commit, as poisoning the sources of eternal truth".

– Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol.V, p.42

Ronald Mansbridge: The Percentage of Words in the Geneva and King James Versions taken from Tyndale's Translation.

During the Tyndale quinqucentenary year we were told repeatedly, and rightly, that most of the language of the King James Version of the Bible was taken, without acknowledgement, from William Tyndale's translation. The figures given varied, ranging from two-thirds to 90%. David Daniell, the leading authority on Tyndale, stated that nine-tenths of the New Testament in the King James Version is Tyndale's.

A new encyclopaedia recently published stated that "about 20% of the text of the Authorized (King James) Version shows the influence of Tyndale." We can suppose that this was just a misprint rather than an editorial error. In writing to the editor to suggest a correction, I thought I would try to establish the actual percentage.

At the same time I decided to try to measure the amount of Tyndale's work used by the translators of the Geneva Version, about which we had heard less. The Geneva Version, first printed in 1560, went through at least 140 printings: it was the Bible that Shakespeare read; it was the version in common use at the time that King James' men undertook their revision. My figures indicate that the Geneva Version followed Tyndale even more closely than the King James Version.

It is possible to calculate the percentage in different ways, without making any significant difference to the result. I followed the simple procedure of counting the total number of words in nine representative chapters first in Geneva, then in King James, and then counting how many of these words were taken from Tyndale's translation. The resulting figures are as follows:

Number of words taken from Tyndale by Geneva Version and King James Version

	<i>Geneva</i>		<i>King James</i>		<i>Percentage taken from Tyndale</i>	
	<i>no. of words</i>	<i>words from Tyndale</i>	<i>no. of words</i>	<i>words from Tyndale</i>	<i>Gen.</i>	<i>KJV</i>
Genesis 13	452	358	457	389	81.4	85.1
Deuteronomy 8	557	454	554	438	81.5	79.1
1 Samuel 8	519	431	524	425	81.1	81.1
Matthew 3	395	337	385	317	85.3	82.3
Acts 25, 1-15	373	301	358	302	80.7	84.3
Romans 13	361	294	354	256	81.4	72.3
1 Corinthians 5	316	268	312	248	84.8	79.5
James 4	374	294	362	289	78.6	79.8
Revelation 20	479	444	469	434	92.7	92.5
Total	3836	3191	3646	2975	83.4	81.6

It will be seen that in these nine chapters more than 83% of the words in the Geneva Version were taken direct from Tyndale, and more than 81% of the words in the King James Version. I believe this sample is statistically valid for the whole New Testament and those books of the Old Testament that Tyndale translated, within a margin of possible error of between 2 and 3 per cent.

As a matter of interest I have set down the Beatitudes in the three versions. It is well known that in these verses the closeness of the language is very great; as can be seen, verse after verse is identical in all three.

The Beatitudes, Matthew 5, 1-16: Tyndale, Geneva, and King James Versions

Tyndale: When he saw the people, he went up into a mountain,
Geneva: And when he saw the multitude, he went up into a mountain,
KJV: And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain,

Tyndale: and when he was set, his disciples came to him,
Geneva: and when he was set, his disciples came to him,
KJV: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him,

Tyndale: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying:
Geneva: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying:
KJV: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying:

Tyndale: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
Geneva: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
KJV: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Tyndale: Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
Geneva: Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
KJV: Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Tyndale: Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
Geneva: Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
KJV: Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Tyndale: Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness:
Geneva: Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness:
KJV: Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness:

Tyndale: for they shall be filled.
Geneva: for they shall be filled.
KJV: for they shall be filled.

Tyndale: Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
Geneva: Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
KJV: Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Tyndale: Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
Geneva: Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
KJV: Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Tyndale: Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
Geneva: Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.
KJV: Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Tyndale: Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake:
Geneva: Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake:
KJV: Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake:

Tyndale: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
Geneva: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
KJV: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Tyndale: Blessed are ye when men revile you, and persecute you,
Geneva: Blessed shall ye be when men revile you, and persecute you,
KJV: Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you,

Tyndale: and shall falsely say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake.
Geneva: and say all manner of evil against you for my sake falsely.
KJV: and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Tyndale: Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.
Geneva: Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.
KJV: Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.

Tyndale: For so persecuted they the prophets which were before your days.
Geneva: For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.
KJV: For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Tyndale: Ye are the salt of the earth. But if the salt have lost her saltness,
Geneva: Ye are the salt of the earth. But if the salt have lost his savour,
KJV: Ye are the salt of the earth. But if the salt have lost his savour,

Tyndale: what can be salted therewith?
Geneva: wherewith shall it be salted?
KJV: wherewith shall it be salted?

Tyndale: It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out
Geneva: It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out
KJV: It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out

Tyndale: and to be trodden under foot of men.
Geneva: and to be trodden under foot of men.
KJV: and to be trodden under foot of men.

Tyndale: Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.
Geneva: Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.
KJV: Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.

Tyndale: Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel,
Geneva: Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel,
KJV: Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel,

Tyndale: but on a candlestick, and it lighteth all that are in the house.
Geneva: but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.
KJV: but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.

Tyndale: Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works
Geneva: Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works
KJV: Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works

Tyndale: and glorify your father which is in heaven.
Geneva: and glorify your father which is in heaven.
KJV: and glorify your father which is in heaven.

Most of the differences between the versions are inconsequential. Here are the differences between Tyndale and King James in Revelation, chapter 20:

Of greater consequence:

Tyndale
he took the dragon
and bound him
I saw seats
the other of the dead
the people
the plain of the earth
for ever more
their place was no more found
their deeds

King James Version
he laid hold on the dragon
and shut him up
I saw thrones
the rest of the dead
the nations
the breadth of the earth
for ever and ever
there was found no place for them
their works

Of less consequence:

Tyndale
on him
were fulfilled
which
that first resurrection
have no power
for
whose number
a lake
were
heaven
of those things
the sea gave up her dead

King James Version
upon him
should be fulfilled
and which
the first resurrection
hath no power
but
the number of whom
the lake
are
the heaven
out of those things
the sea gave up the dead

There are indeed significant differences elsewhere, such as Tyndale's use of *elder* or *minister*, not *priest*; *repent*, not *do penance*; and *congregation*, not *church*. Such usages have doctrinal importance, and were held against Tyndale. But this is not the place to consider their implications. Here I have been concerned merely with the modest aim of establishing the percentage of Tyndale's words that were used by his successors. It seems reasonable to use 80% as a rough figure.

Werner Waterschoot: 16th Century Antwerp, a Cultural Capital

In the 1581 edition of his well-known *Descrittione de tutti i Paesi Bassi* Lodovico Guicciardini praised the printing-office of Christophe Plantin as unrivalled throughout Europe. This contemporary eulogy has been borne out by posterity. In our opinion, the activity of the Officina Plantiniana marks one of Antwerp's most characteristic cultural achievements in the 16th century. Guicciardini mentioned no other printer besides Plantin. Nevertheless, the latter was not the only printer in Antwerp at that time, nor was he the first one. Antwerp had played a prominent part in Dutch typographic history since 1481. By the end of the 15th century, the city held the greatest share of book-production in the Southern Netherlands. With 432 titles produced before 1501, Antwerp excelled Leuven (270 titles), whereas all other southern towns together produced no more than 131 books. At that time, only the cities of Zwolle and Deventer in the north were more important in the same field. Both cities took profit from the existence of famous schools, organised by the Brethren of the Common Life, and, as a consequence, by the presence of an avid reading public.

The rise of Antwerp as a typographic centre, however, was due to other circumstances. Printing needed money, first of all for establishing and equipping the shop, but, still more important, for financing forthcoming publications. The cost of paper was the heaviest burden on the printer's budget and had to be paid for before production began. On the other hand, the profit made by the sold copies came in only slowly. The necessary capital, then, was most easily supplied in a dynamically growing city such as Antwerp. Its increasing means of communications and steadily spreading hinterland facilitated and accelerated the sale of the printer's output.

The career of Antwerp's earliest important printer is representative in this respect. Gerard Leeu had been active as a printer at Gouda in Holland, where he produced some 60 books in the years 1477-1484. He then went to Antwerp and printed more than 150 books, apparently for a much wider, even international public.

Like many of Antwerp's foremost merchants and captains of finance, quite a lot of the printers were of foreign origin. This circumstance was no obstacle for practising the printing business. Although the guilds kept the number of masters restricted and, since 1558, printers had had to join the Guild of St Luke, access to their trade was not arranged by enrolment in some guild, but by acquiring a patent from the central government exempt from all town regulations. As a result, the sector expanded continuously: in the years 1501-1510, 45 people constituted the typographic trade; by the 1570s, this number had multiplied by ten.

As in other economic respects, Antwerp surpassed the rest of the Netherlands in this sector. Ghent and Brussels counted some ten printers, Leuven had as many as 42 of them, but their production was only of local interest, compared to some of Antwerp's outstanding crafts-masters from the first half of the 16th century.

Michael Hillen van Hoochstraten published more than 150 books in the years 1506-1546, ranging from writings by Erasmus and Luther to almanacs. Issuing his publications as job-work, he had some of them printed at Delft and in Paris. He worked for the English market too. Yet more impressive was the career of Willem Vorsterman, who published about 400 books in the period 1504-1543. Besides job-work for colleagues in Ghent, Amsterdam, Leiden, Konstanz and other cities, he contracted out work to other Antwerp firms and to Jodocus Badius in Paris. Consequently, his production was a very polyglot one: it comprises books in Dutch, French, English, Spanish and Danish. The preponderance of Antwerp printers made that city the natural place for the production of important, voluminous and illustrated books in the Netherlands.

The runaway success of the Antwerp printing-houses manifested itself in three very specific features of production: diversification, topicality and mass-production. At the beginning of the 16th century, religious literature held a great segment of the book-market: between 1500 and 1539, of 2,650 books printed in Antwerp, no less than 1,164 items belonged to the pious sector, devotional works prevailing heavily with 371 titles, that is one third part of this kind of literature. The predominance of this genre of late medieval origin diminished in favour of religious controversy under the influence of the Reformation. In this respect, the diffusion of the Bible in the vernacular was essential. As early as 1540, no less than 40 of 48 Dutch Bible-editions in the Lutheran spirit had appeared. Antwerp printers spread these Reformed signals to foreign countries as well. Willem Vorsterman printed the New Testament in Danish for Christjern Pedersen and in 1530 Martin Lempereur published the Bible in French, translated by Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples. Antwerp was also the place where Tyndale's publications came out. Lutheran literature was prohibited by imperial order. Hence its production and sale was a very profitable business, but a risky one as well: three Antwerp printers had to climb the scaffold for that reason.

Although religious controversy literature held the preponderance – as in all other European countries – the Antwerp presses produced a variegated offer of books: songbooks and chapbooks for common entertainment, schoolbooks for youth, dictionaries, books on accountancy and on cartography for the business world, scientific books for practitioners and scholars.

Topicality could not remain absent from the typographic production of such a commercial centre as Antwerp. News sheets, mostly about political subjects, were spread in large amounts, usually by minor printers. Prognostications ensured a steady and guaranteed income to the publishers. Neither should the function of prints in the diffusion of all kinds of information be underestimated. Antwerp publishers demonstrated their alertness by reprinting most quickly books that tended to be successful sellers. The first edition of Sigismund von Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* came out in Basel in 1555. One year later the book was published in Antwerp. Distance proved to be no obstruction. Antonio Possevino's *Moscovia* appeared in Wilna, now in Lithuania, but the work did not escape the attention of Plantin, who managed to offer his edition one year later, in 1587.

Massification in book-production was manifested in the size of the Antwerp printing-offices: a quarter of them were great business-concerns. At an early stage, the cutting of type and type-foundry was assigned to specialists, whereas printing, publishing and bookselling was reserved to themselves.

The most representative was, of course, Christophe Plantin. The importance of Antwerp as a typographic centre became decisive through his activity alone. Plantin himself explained his choice of Antwerp with three reasons: the availability of materials, the abundance of craftsmen, and the easy access to the market. At the zenith of his activities in the 1570s, he kept at least 16 presses working and had 20 compositors, 32 pressmen, and 3 proofreaders in his service, in addition to the staff for his house and bookshop. Between 1555 and 1589 he produced some 2,450 books, which he distributed via Paris and Frankfort. Due to the monopoly on liturgical books in Spain and its colonies, he acquired a very lucrative position. It enabled him to become Europe's leading printer of humanist, scientific and religious literature. He was famous for his press-work, set in type which was designed by the best French and Dutch specialists. He deliberately preferred copper-plate illustrations to woodcuts. As a result, copper-plate illustration became predominant in the next century. The quality of his work was such that scholars from all over Europe offered him their writings for publication. After 1585, when the Spanish regime and the old Church had stabilized, the variety of Plantin's production diminished as the number of Catholic devotional publications increased. This evolution was paralleled by that of the Giolito firm in Venice which, under the influence of the Counter-Reformation, restricted itself to religious books in Italian for the geographically limited market.

Besides Plantin's officina, Guicciardini was moved to praise many of Antwerp's accomplishments, such as the art of singing and dancing. "All over the city", he said, "one sees everywhere weddings, banquets and dancings. Everywhere, one hears cheerful singing and clinking". The Venetian ambassador Vincenzo Quirini characterised the music in Antwerp at the beginning of the century as 'perfect' and his colleague Bernardo Navagero considered the inhabitants of the Netherlands to be born musicians. The most steady and most important musical centre in Antwerp was provided by the church. The Antwerp cathedral held twelve choristers, who lived in a private house, where they received instruction from their master. On high feast-days, hours and masses were sung in descant. The singing-master was a composer as well. At the beginning of the 16th century, this office was held by the famous Jacob Obrecht, whose polyphonic compositions are characterised by an extraordinary capacity for assimilation. The city itself had a company of fiddlers in its service. They presumably provided for the secular and ecclesiastical performances after vocal patterns. As well as the cathedral the four parish churches and many monasteries contributed to the musical culture as well.

Antwerp had many composers, who were active as singers, clergymen, schoolmasters, or men in private service. There must have been an intense concert-life, very little of which is known, however. Andries Pevernage, the singing-master of the cathedral after 1585, is said to have organized weekly concerts at his home, where compositions of

Italian, French and Dutch masters would have been performed. The upper-class youth received musical instruction from private teachers. Some texts of the foremost Renaissance poet Jan van der Noot were set to music by four of the best composers, Hubert Waelrant, Andries Pavernage, Grégoire Treschault and Cornelis Verdonck, all living in Antwerp at that time. When enumerating members of the Antwerp aristocracy, Guicciardini more than once pointed out that the gentleman in question was well-versed in music. Still in the 1650s the Dutch poet and diplomat Constantijn Huygens highly appreciated the musical culture which he encountered in the Duarte house in Antwerp.

Antwerp was also a centre for the production of music-books. Tielman Susato, an immigrant from Cologne, was the first to gain an internationally reputed position for music printing. Other important masters such as Jan de Laet published advanced music works. The indefatigable Plantin produced the finest choir-books. From the 1570s on, the Bellerus and Phalesius families were leading houses for this musical production. The whole contemporary repertoire was made available by the Antwerp presses: vernacular song-books and psalms, as well as polyphonic secular and ecclesiastical music. Works of all famous European composers were offered by the Antwerp publishers, if sometimes with great delay.

Another feature which characterised Antwerp as a centre of music was the production of musical instruments. Hans Ruckers from Mechelen, the well-known builder of clavecins, managed a company of a size comparable to Plantin's officina. His products, like Plantin's, were sent all over Europe. Although Ruckers was the leading manufacturer of these instruments, he was not the only one. Another important business in this field was the building of organs. They were exported as far as Spain and Scandinavia. In the Antwerp cathedral itself, no less than four organs were mounted.

Literature and performing arts flourished in this prosperous and stimulating setting. Humanists were usually committed to royal patronage, and therefore other towns offered them more advantages: Brussels as the seat of the court, Mechelen as juridical centre, and Leuven as *the* place of learning. Hence humanists in residence were civil servants in high functions, writing in their spare time. In the 16th century, the Netherlands produced a plethora of scholars and scientists. Yet the most prominent men did not live in Antwerp: neither Andreas Vesalius, nor Gerardus Mercator, nor Simon Stevin, nor Rembertus Dodonaeus. Yet they do belong to the Antwerp humanist scene, for their works were printed in that city. Thanks to the competence of the Antwerp publishers, there was a permanent coming and going of distinguished men of learning. This visiting was not limited to Dutch scholars: foreign writers as well had their works printed in Antwerp, such as the Danish Reformer Christjern Pedersen, his English colleague William Tyndale, and the Hungarian physician and author of emblems Joannes Sambucus.

In the second half of the 16th century, Plantin's officina developed into an humanist centre. It started with his greatest editorial enterprise, the polyglot Bible under the supervision of the Spanish theologian Arias Montanus. Many scholars were involved in this project. Plantin's printing of Latin literature, old and new, did the rest. Together with

his friend, the geographer Abraham Ortelius, he formed a nucleus on which men like Justus Lipsius, Joris Hoefnagel, Frans Hogenberg and Gerard Mercator could rely for their Antwerp affairs. After Plantin's death in 1589, Ortelius became the undisputed head of the Antwerp learned society. In particular, he acted as a benevolent intermediary between European scholars in matters of antiquity.

Although Antwerp's humanists enjoyed a solid reputation in the European *respublica litterarum*, they were not conspicuous in the streets. To reach the common people's ear was the objective of the Dutch rhetoricians. Literary life in the Netherlands had become a matter for the chambers of rhetoric. Even in the 15th century, such a chamber had been a meeting place of men interested in literature who wrote poetry in mutual competition. This phenomenon spread with great success in the most urbanized regions of the Netherlands. Naturally, these companies competed in producing poetry and drama. Their impact was not unimportant. A gathering of chambers in Ghent in the year 1539 had an alarming effect on the authorities because Lutheran points of view were uttered on that occasion. The dukedom of Brabant was home to a particular type of competition, the 'Land's Jewel'. This dramatic competition was held exclusively between a group of Brabant chambers. The winner of the first match was awarded a plate of silver. This winning chamber was obliged to organize the next contest and to enlarge the prize with one more plate. The cycle ended after seven meetings, when the ultimate winner got seven silver plates. Antwerp had three such chambers: the 'Gilliflowers', fused with the Guild of St Luke in 1480; the 'Marigold', founded in 1488; and the 'Olive-branch', dating from 1510. The 'Gilliflowers' was twice victorious in the 'Land's Jewel' and had to organize the next festival, which they did in 1496 and 1561 respectively. From the 1496 feast nothing is left but a list of the prizes. On the other hand, the texts of the competition in 1561 were collected into a bulky volume, printed in 1562. The introductory pages describe the entrance of the 14 participating chambers as a magnificent spectacle. There were 1328 men on horseback beside many actors on 23 antique and 196 illuminated chariots. Of course, this entry was primarily a display of the wealth and splendour of Brabant towns, represented by their chambers. But it was Antwerp which had set the framework and had summoned the whole dukedom to participate in the contest. The 'Gilliflowers' depended heavily on the Antwerp authorities for the organization of the festival. It was the city authorities which had to get the consent of the central government for such a comprehensive manifestation. The collaboration between city and guild was assured by the presence of several aldermen on the committee of the chamber. No great surprise then that one of the items in the programme was a 'Eulogy of the honest merchant'. Many prizes were offered, not only for purely dramatic matters such as for the best actor, but also for the most impressive entrance, the finest allegorical blazon, the most solemn presence in church and the most brilliant illumination of lodgings. The festivities lasted from the 3rd of August until the 26th. Trade was slow during that period, because all attention was concentrated on the stage, which was set up in the marketplace. Antwerp was crowded with visitors from all over the Netherlands. The fame of this contest, which put an end to

the 'Land's Jewel', was consolidated by the 1562 publication, which set standards for similar assemblies in Northern Netherlands for the rest of the century.

There was one type of occasion on which humanists, artists and rhetoricians joined forces to prepare a major political and cultural pageant: the entry of a new sovereign. These celebrations were high points in 16th century urban life. In 1520, when honouring the emperor Charles V, the town secretary Cornelius Grapheus and the clerk Pieter Gillis invented Latin, Greek and Hebrew inscriptions for the triumphal arches and *tableaux vivants*. 250 painters and 300 carpenters executed the project. Other such occasions were the presentation of Prince Philippe as the heir to the throne in 1549, the inauguration of the Duke of Anjou by the rebellious provinces after deserting the Spanish king in 1582, the welcoming of Archduke Ernest as a representative of Philippe II in 1594, and the entry of Albert and Isabella as new sovereigns in 1599. On each of these celebrations, accounts were published to emphasise the city's loyalty as well as its power, as demonstrated by the opulence of these festivities. The entry of Prince Philippe in 1549 must have been the most grandiose spectacle of them all. The now old Grapheus provided the programme while the artistic organization was entrusted to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who had taken every recognised artist in his charge. The whole city was covered with triumphal arches and stages. More than 2000 columns had to be painted. Because the old city hall was in disrepair, a temporary wooden palace had been erected in the marketplace.

What remained of all this after 1585? Roughly speaking, Antwerp's cultural achievements stood firm for a while. Most conspicuous as a break with the past was the oppression of the chambers of rhetoric. The Duke of Alba declared them to be hotbeds of heresy and they were forbidden for the rest of the century. The time of the 'Land's Jewel' was over. However, musical life continued to flower in Antwerp during the 17th century. Book production went on too. After 1589 a number of printers and journeymen left for the Northern Netherlands, where they stimulated the rise of the Holland printing business. The impetus of the Counter-Reformation provided for a new flourishing of religious literature. But the spiritual climate had changed. The old heterodox visitors absented themselves from the now rigidly Catholic city. Uniformity of mind began to prevail upon diversity of opinion. At the end of the century, devotional literature again had a substantial share of Antwerp book production, just as it had at the beginning of the century. Had the variegated achievements been but an intermezzo?



Antwerp Cathedral

Neil Bayley: Clerk to the Trustees of Tyndale's Monument, North Nibley.

In 1956 I was a Solicitor working in a practice in Gray's Inn. My wife and I had for some time wanted to move out of London to the West Country and when the chance came to take up a job in Dursley we accepted. My parents lived in Cheltenham, and while negotiating over the new job my father took us for a drive in the surrounding area. On that drive I saw Tyndale's Monument for the first time.

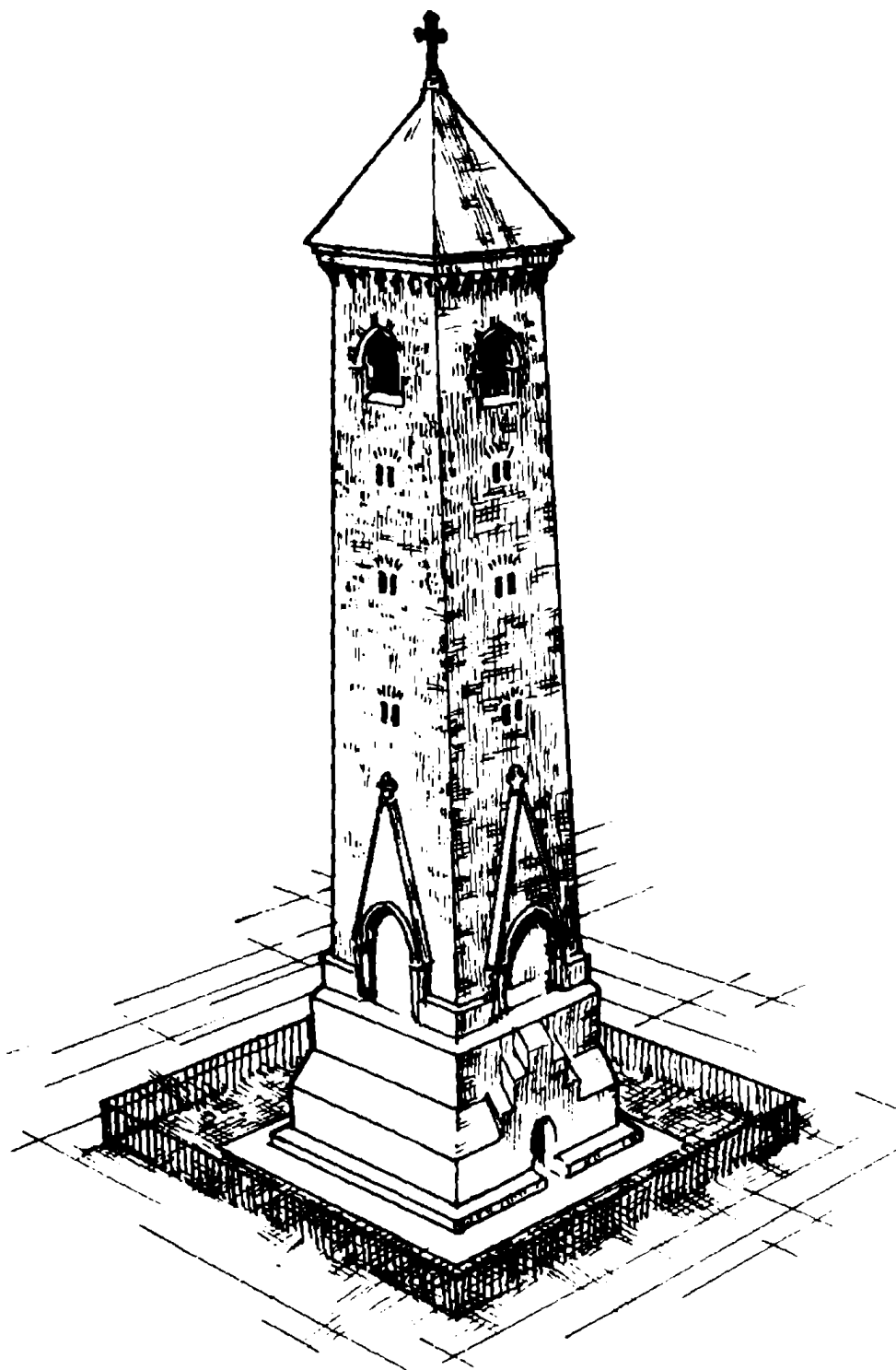
I joined the firm in Dursley and the second file of papers that was placed on my desk was about the Monument. I found, somewhat to my surprise, that I was Clerk because the partner I replaced had been Clerk. The Clerkship had been held by a partner in firm since about 1907.

I remained as Clerk for 35 years until 1992 when I retired. They were happy years which put right much of my original ignorance about Tyndale and his Monument.

Because the Clerk was the one fixed point, (Trustees came and went with their term of office) hundreds of people wrote to me. Of course some were complaining about the state of the Monument, or the roadway leading up to it, but many more were giving me useful information about Tyndale or about the Monument. And very many people came to see me. Like the letter writers some of them were complaining or wanting a free trip to the viewing chamber at the top of the Monument, but many more wanted to tell me something they knew. People like the professor from Oregon whose great grandfather had worked on the building. Everyone who had worked on it was given a beautifully bound copy of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and he brought me his great grandfather's copy to show me. People like a man from Quebec who claimed to be a member of the Tyndale family, and to be writing a book about his ancestor. Well, he left all his papers in my office and never came back for them, so I imagine the book was never written.

Over the years there we made appeals for funds and minor repairs were carried out. In the early sixties one of the games played by local youths was to carry a large stone to the top of the Monument and see how many tops they could knock off the railings round its base. Luckily modern youth is a little less fit and that game seems to have stopped. But there was a minor appeal for repairs to the railings.

Then in 1985 we had to launch a major appeal because extensive repairs were needed to the whole fabric. As one facet of this I was asked to go and talk to one or two organisations, and I had to do some research to give these talks. But in the Quincentenary year the Gloucestershire branch of the Prayer Book Society held their summer service at North Nibley on the theme of Tyndale, and I was asked to preach. That led to more invitations. By the end of the year I had given 24 talks and 3 sermons. This year bids fair to being very much the same. My innocent joining of a Gloucestershire legal practice has been a strange introduction to the fascinating world of William Tyndale.



David Keep: Is not Tyndale also among the Prophets?

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William Tyndale has been for four hundred and fifty years the chief martyr of the early English reformation and the hero of missionary translators. The flames which consumed his body outside the Imperial castle at Vilvoorde were a lamp not only to the King of England but to a biblical protestantism which was to spread by leaps and bounds and come near to world conquest. Of Tyndale's life we know little: the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his death could be the half-millennium of his birth somewhere on the banks of the Severn in Gloucestershire. We have glimpses of his life and work in Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, London, probably at Wittenberg and in the cities of the Rhine and Flanders.¹ The man himself eludes us apart from his urgent pen translating so far as he could from the original and, where he could not, cribbing from Luther. It is as the English Luther that his nineteenth-century admirers were inclined to hail him: one of the great losses to the English church; his work is given a prominent place in Quentin Skinner's monumental study of the development of political thought in which he gives full weight to the meetings at *The White Horse*. 'Tyndale was only one amongst a considerable group of young Cambridge scholars who were attracted in a similar way from humanism to the Lutheran church.'² I want to suggest in this paper that this is not strictly correct; that Tyndale's attitude to the authority of scripture and the state was distinct from that of Luther and made him a successor of the lollards and a precursor of English independents rather than the erastians.

Nothing I may argue in this paper can touch Tyndale's remarkable achievement in translating the New Testament and most of the Old, and doing it in such a way that his vocabulary permeates the Authorised Version. Some of the key terms rejected in 1611 have been restored to modern versions. It may indeed be argued that Tyndale's concern was solely with translation and that it is inappropriate to search his works for systematic theology, but he did rebel against the church and must have had some inkling of what reformation by the Word of God would involve. The dilemma is clearly stated in Gervase Duffield's introduction to a reissue of some of his works. Duffield quoted *The Times Literary Supplement* of 4th June 1925: 'He was the father, not indeed of the Puritans who leaned on Calvin, but on those other Puritans who produced the Family of Love, Brownists, and Anabaptists' and commented 'Tyndale would have been horrified to be linked with these folk, who are now generally all classed as Anabaptists'...³ I am far from convinced by this. Uneasy lay the head that wore the mitre in the church of Henry and his son. It is hard to imagine Tyndale as a Cranmer or a Ridley, or indeed as a Hooper or a Coverdale. I shall attempt to demonstrate that his churchmanship was in the radical tradition of the lollards, that he refused to join the reformers at the English court, and that what we may discern of his doctrine was at least veering toward the radical alternatives.

Gordon Rupp suggested that Tyndale was supported by lollards. As he put it in his incomparable way:

There are mysterious references to a 'Society of Christian Brethren' which has been described as a kind of 'Forbidden Book of the Month Club'. It seems to have been an organised sodality with its own accounts and auditors. It subsidised scholars like William Tyndale, and it underwrote the dangerous but not unprofitable godly trade of smuggling into this country the works of the Reformers from 1520 onwards, and then from about 1526 a whole spate of English religious literature.⁴

This, of course, makes considerable assumptions in order to achieve clarity and coherence, but it does make sense of Tyndale's reception by Humphrey Monmouth in London, and the merchant's later defence of him that he was a strict and disciplined priest. It accounts for his dangerous lodgings in the catholic cities of the Rhine and his final home in the English merchants' house in Antwerp. Although Foxe is not specific on this point, it is likely that he preached and argued on College Green in Bristol. He can hardly have provoked the diocesan Chancellor's condemnation solely for his tart comments at the meal-table at Little Sodbury Manor. His final capture was in the course of one of his pastoral walks in the alleys of Antwerp where he used to visit the members of the English congregation.

Tyndale in his exile shared fellowship in what was later to be defined as the 'gathered church'. Lay groups meeting for prayer and bible study had preserved the lollard Bible and were the foundation of the English reformation. Exiles on the continent formed 'strangers' churches, as the beautiful Beguinhof in Amsterdam reminds us. In times of persecution both catholic and protestant took advantage of diplomatic courtesy, if not immunity, to worship with foreign residents in London. When Grindal was compelled to suppress prophesyings, the puritans naturally reverted to secret meetings in warehouses and hulks, as their successors, 'undenominational but still the church of God', continue to do. Tyndale compared Wycliffe (and Gildas) to Jonah: the preacher's duty was to call men to repentance. He was very specific on the authority of the preacher and on the duty of every believer to preach:

Every man then may be a common preacher, thou wilt say, and preach every where by his own authority. Nay, verily; no man may yet be a common preacher, save he that is called and chosen thereto by the common ordinance of the congregation, as long as the preacher teacheth the true word of God. But every private man ought to be, in virtuous living, both salt and light to his neighbour: insomuch that the poorest ought to strive to overrun the bishop, and preach to him in word and deed unto his household, and to them that are under his governance etc.⁵

This is the practice for the 'holy huddle'. Individual scholarship and personal admonition was the religion of the petty bourgeois lay literate, catholic or lollard; the piety that Tyndale both advocated and practised.

Through circumstances, inclination and, I suggest, theology, Tyndale was a separatist. In earlier generations he might have found his place in the library of a monastery, but in the ferment of the sixteenth century he was drawn into controversy. He opted for *congregation* as the precise translation of *ecclesia* and although in his *Answer to More* he was aware that the word contained the ambiguity which is still preserved in the use of the German *Gemeinde*, he opted for the third possible meaning, and then only in a precisely modified form. The church in the New Testament was not the building, nor the 'multitude of shaven, shorn and oiled; which we now call the spirituality and clergy...' The third use had been forgotten. It was either 'the whole body of the city, of all kinds, conditions, and degrees', which is how the reformers of the continental free cities saw it, with conflicting views as to how far ecclesiastical control should be exercised over all citizens. Or as Tyndale preferred:

And in this third signification is the church of God, or Christ taken in the scripture; even for the whole multitude of all them that receive the name of Christ to believe in him, and not for the clergy only.⁶

I turn secondly to Henry VIII's invitation to Tyndale to return to London, and so to play a part in the reform of the Church of England. Biographers from Demaus to the present have described the secret negotiations between the royal agent Stephen Vaughan and Tyndale in the crucial period November 1530 to June 1531. Cromwell was a rising man at the court, More was falling as he could not arrange the annulment of the royal marriage. The king seems to have had a genuine respect for scholarship and for theology in particular. Cranmer built his reputation on his tour of the protestant universities to seek their opinion on the marriage. The arrest of Latimer and little Bilney would not have helped to give Tyndale confidence, but revolutions whether Lutheran or Leninist are made by those who are prepared to seize their moment. Even martyrdom in London would have been more effective than on that foreign field where lies a piece of England. Tyndale would have received either a heavenly crown or an earthly mitre and this paper would have had no possible validity. Tyndale in the event refused. He assured Vaughan of his loyalty to the monarch but did not obey, despite his exegesis in his *Prologue to the Book of Numbers*, that the authority of the king, like domestic necessity, may override an oath.⁷ His purpose was to translate the Bible and make it plain to the ploughboy at all costs.

He may have been influenced by the realisation that on the issue of the royal marriage to Anne his views were fully in line with his adversary Thomas More. He published *The Practice of Prelates* in 1530. He found no contradiction in the laws of Moses on the matter:

I did my diligence a long season, to know what reasons our holy prelates should make for their divorcement; but I could not come by them. I searched what might be said for their part, but I could find no lawful excuse of myself, by any scripture that I ever read: I communed with divers learned men of the matter, which also could tell me no other way than I have showed.

Scripture came before expediency, and indeed in the same work led Tyndale to economic criticism which clearly identified him not with the new reformers but with the old radical preachers in the tradition of John Ball. Tyndale was opposed to large estates and the prospect of the tyranny of the rich over the poor:

For God thinketh it better for his commonwealth, that twenty should spend twenty or forty shillings apiece, than that one should spend twenty or forty pounds, and nineteen never a whit: for then must many poor hang on one rich.⁸

Such views have never been congenial to expansionist mercantile communities and Tyndale's rigorous ascetic morality was more respected than followed by Anne Boleyn who was the probable recipient of the best surviving copy of the 1534 edition of the New Testament. Although Cranmer was able to follow and survive Cromwell in the royal favour, protestants who did not support the royal cause like Frith and Barnes were still liable to the fire, and even in the more evangelical climate of Edward VI, Hooper's life was threatened over the relatively trivial matter of episcopal vestments. I conclude that Tyndale was wise to refuse Vaughan's invitation, and that the distant threat of the Emperor in Antwerp was safer than the fickle favour of the English king.

My third point is that Tyndale's doctrine so far as it may be discerned leaned toward the radical position. I begin with the authority of scripture. This proved a two-edged sword to Luther and Zwingli as they found both the seeds of royal absolutism and congregational authority in the two testaments, but despite Tyndale's obvious endorsement of Romans 13, he consistently put obedience to the scripture before obedience to the king. Classic views of absolutism, like that of Abednego Seller, included Tyndale with the continental reformers in freeing the monarch from accountability to his subjects, but Quentin Skinner has argued in great detail that the right to resist tyranny was accepted by Luther and his supporters after 1530, as well as by a significant part of the reformed tradition.⁹ Tyndale claimed that the preacher of the word might need to 'meddle with the pope, bishops, prelates and... great men of the world... these persons are of all other most corrupt, and therefore may not be left untouched.' I would couple this with a most significant statement about the right to interpret scripture which he expounded in the prologue to his *Exposition of the first Epistle of John* which he published in Antwerp in 1531:

whosoever hath the profession of baptism written in his heart, cannot but understand the scripture, if he exercise himself therein, and compare one place to another, and mark the manner of speech, and ask here and there the meaning of a sentence of them that be better exercised.¹⁰

I am assuming that Tyndale's joy in his baptism is like Luther's and not like the anabaptists who found the lay piety of the low countries such a fruitful mission field, but his method of exegesis is closer to Knox than to those who advocated a learned ministry and is clearly the method of the lollard fellowship. In this respect Tyndale's views are those followed by the separatist puritans.

There are two specific areas where Tyndale veered towards the radical position. One was in his view of covenant. There is a growing body of argument on the meaning of this term and its relationship to the eighteenth-century political doctrine of the social contract. Interpretation of the term is tied up with the right of resistance and the emergence of arminianism in the early seventeenth century. To the full predestinarian, the covenant is absolute, a matter of grace. To the city dwellers of the Rhine it had come to mean a two-sided agreement, the so-called 'double covenant' which laid mutual obligations on God and on mankind. This view meant that man had the power to reject God's grace, or to accept it and to know that he had accepted. This is the basis of the gathered church. In his chapter on 'Browne and the Covenanted Community', B R White picked up an important paper by Møller and concluded:

Browne's most notable English predecessor in teaching the conditional nature of the divine covenant with man was William Tyndale. Although Tyndale's teaching was broadcast by the tracts which he had written, it was probably far more widely spread by his notes in the margins of the various editions and reprints of his Bible translations. It seems that there was a double influence upon Tyndale leading him to his 'mutualist' view of the covenant: that of the Rhineland reformers, and of the Biblical studies he undertook for his translation work.¹¹

An example of Tyndale's exegesis may be taken from his *Prologue to the Gospel of Matthew* 1534 and his *Exposition upon the V.VI.VII Chapters of Matthew* 1532. The incipient arminianism is seen in his rather odd explanation of the general covenant:

If we meek ourselves to God, to keep all his laws, after the example of Christ, then God hath bound himself to us to keep and make good all the mercies promised in Christ, throughout all the scripture.

Later in the prologue the two testaments are compared: fulfilment of the old brings temporal reward, while the new is everlasting. This is a restatement of the doctrine of the two *regiments*, or kingdoms under which all are subject. 'In the first state there is neither father, mother, son, daughter; neither master, mistress, maid, man-servant, nor husband, wife, nor lord, nor subject, nor man, nor woman, but Christ is all.'¹² This is the democratic church which was to be the later basis for political democracy. It clearly had no place in the monarchic and *haute bourgeoisie* reformations of the sixteenth century.

Tyndale's second potentially sectarian doctrine was in his interpretation of the state of the dead. There is a clear exegetical problem between Jesus' promise to the penitent thief and Paul's statement that the dead are asleep until the trumpet shall sound.¹³ This was made more difficult by the early assimilation of the Greek doctrine of the immortality of the soul with the belief in resurrection. The Council of Florence in 1439 declared for the conscious sufferings of the dead in Purgatory, while the unorthodox view that the souls of the dead are either dead or asleep was termed by Calvin *psychopannychism*. G H Williams decided that More had been justified in accusing Tyndale of anabaptist views, 'for although Tyndale did not agree with the Radicals on the matter of baptism, he did share with them the belief in the doctrine of the sleep of the soul.'¹⁴ Death at Vilvoorde where other Flemish sectaries had died with the approval of Henry VIII hints to Williams at anabaptism. It is an ironic tragedy that the churches have so often been divided about the doctrine over which there can be least certainty: the Brethren movement was split over the same issue in the nineteenth century. So far as Tyndale is concerned, this is a further strong indication that he was not prepared to sacrifice his beliefs to conformity.

Tyndale, then, was justly criticised by More for his threat to the order of the church. The ploughboy with his Bible was to be free to point the finger of criticism at prelate and monarch. Bunyan and Wesley were the true followers of Tyndale, not Cranmer, Parker and Whitgift, and the *Geneva Bible* was the successor to his *New Testament*, not the great official folios chained to the desks in parish churches or locked away in oak chests. Tyndale's view of earthly society was totally negative: church and state were corrupted by sin and needed to repent, but to find a heavenly kingdom not a new Israel on earth. It is fruitless to conjecture what he would have made of the exegesis of the monarchy and the possibility of a Solomon or a Josiah on the throne, but he was not spared to consider them. There remains the enigma of his dying prayer: on balance from the evidence I have quoted, he hoped for freedom for the gospel and a church of true believers without episcopal, let alone royal, control. Tyndale was an evangelical with the single purpose of making the Bible available in a contemporary printed translation. I have argued that he was a precursor of that form of lay congregation-centred protestantism for whom the Bible is the church, and although he did not give much thought to the possible shape of an English protestant church, his exegesis inevitably followed the pattern of the anabaptists and the more radical puritans. In these respects, whether or not he visited Wittenberg, he was more lollard than Lutheran and a prophet of that poor, semi-skilled social group which has supplied the radicals in religion and politics in every civilisation.

NOTES

1. The main source for Tyndale's life is Foxe, together with an autobiographical passage in his preface to *The fyrst boke of Moses* (ed J I Mombert, William Tyndale) *The Pentateuch* (Fontwell 1967) pp 3-5. The possible visit to Wittenberg and the negotiations with Vaughan are discussed in R Demaus 1871; J F Mozley 1937; C H Williams 1969 and B H Edwards *God's Outlaw*, Welwyn 1976.
2. Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Cambridge 1978, vol 2, pp 32-3.
3. G E Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, Appleford 1964, p xiii.
4. Gordon Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion*, London 1964, p 16.
5. *Prologue to the Prophet Jonas 1531; An Exposition upon the V.VI.VII Chapters of Matthew 1532*. Duffield, p 94 and p 214.
6. ed. Henry Walter, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, The Supper of the Lord*, by William Tyndale, Cambridge 1850, p 12.
7. *The Pentateuch*, p 396.
8. Duffield, p 392 and p 388.
9. Skinner, vol 2, p 74.
10. Duffield, p 210, pp 172-3.
11. B R White, *The English Separatist Tradition from the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers*, Oxford 1971, p 55.
12. Duffield, p 106, p 112. p 238.
13. Luke 23:43; 1 Corinthians 15:51f.
14. George Hunstan Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, Philadelphia 1962, p 21, p 401.

Hans-Jörg Modlmayr: Letter from Germany

Dear Gordon,

I thank you for your kind invitation to write about William Tyndale for the TSJ ‘from a German perspective (e.g. Is he more than a footnote to Luther?), and how does a broadcaster view his approach and methods (Is there anything for us to learn here?).’

I don’t claim to be a relative of Saul but when I was driving through the night in late August 1994 the BBC programme on Tyndale, ‘Let There Be Light’, struck me, no, exhilarated me in a most wonderful way. It was clear to me that I had to do broadcasts on him and preparing them was wonderfully inspiring. I repeat the word ‘wonderful’ because Tyndale’s language, pure in the Yale texts, is such a humanely charming voice, clear and varied, beautifully modulated and rhythmical. In short you look at the marvels of life through the eyes of the innocent visionary whose sense of wonder and enthusiasm directly translates to you. What makes Tyndale so special is the truthfulness of the vision – untainted by the interferences of clerical lust for control over the spiritual.

The older I become the more amazed I am about the clerical castes of any generation and culture (priests, courtiers, bureaucrats, academics and all sorts of other species of ‘fonctionnaires’). Looking at the clerical cast of mind I cannot help pitying its adepts because of their fundamental predicament, i.e. that they are – excuse the pun – ‘out’– ‘cast(e)s’. They are put in charge – or have usurped their positions – of the holy sources of life-inspiring traditions which are continually revitalized by – to use Tolkien’s term – the ‘sub-creators’, the artists.

To look at Tyndale and More from this perspective is interesting because the two diametrically opposed temperaments of highly gifted men can teach us to understand the mechanics of our culture. It all boils down to the alternative of power, of control, of social and psychic engineering on the More side (with all the tempting fascinations of its backwaters) and the single-handed tightrope balancing act of a Tyndale who, in the end, follows his personal calling and ignores the lures and threats of power.

Power-worshippers are, by definition, cold fish. They are attracted by the ‘beauties’ of structures and their grip on the mechanics of life gives them the impression that by manipulation they can gain ultimate control. Unless he succeeds in assassinating his king or emperor the courtier will never ‘be’ the centre of power, just as the priest can never actually become god because he, the priest, can only impersonate the godhead.

Tyndale’s humility – his requests for warmer clothes and light go to the heart – springs from his pure vision, unadulterated by the temptations of power. What a pity that More was unable to listen to Tyndale; Tyndale could have healed More’s ice-cold soul.

In our present climate of resurging fundamentalisms (fundamentalisms which pour liquid concrete into the sources of traditional revelation) our ancient European legacies threaten to become virulent again. Diagnosing the trends which more and more come to the fore it seems that Europe's old sins were never sincerely shriven, that they were simply hidden away in history's ice-boxes and if we are not wary the whole of Europe will become apocalyptically Bosnified. The Crusades and the Inquisition, the witch-hunts, have never been truly regretted from deep inside. All of us, one way or another, are like Claudius – we are profiting from the blatant injustices inflicted on countless victims.

What can we learn from Tyndale's approach and from his methods? I feel that we are learning a good deal if we simply tune into his world of cadences, cadences which make us much more aware of the miracles of creation. Like John Constable, Tyndale helps us to appreciate the smallest details as fragments of the impenetrable mystery of life and through the enthusiasm gained from the beauty of the fragment we draw courage to weather the various crises which test our stamina.

Anyone who works with and for people can learn from Tyndale. It is the concern and love for what one is about to broadcast that matters. Precision, the right tone, colour and rhythm all follow naturally if one really takes one's calling seriously. Tyndale's dedication to his mission, his patient acceptance of adversity, his perseverance, his never tiring search for the perfection of his craft, all his quiet talents set us an encouraging example not to give up. Each of us has to make a constructive contribution and through the encouragement of a Tyndale some of us get the extra nudge we sometimes need.

Language is Tyndale's medium and, partly thanks to him, English has become the most effective means of communication; it is the very handling of this medium which Tyndale has developed to its full potential. Tyndale has freed religious language from its legalistic straitjacket, he has made a closed book accessible to all and thus he has proved that arcane knowledge can be freed from the obscurantism of clerical castes, who use it in order to justify and sanctify 'the powers that be'.

You ask about Luther. When I read the Bible in German I only really enjoy myself when I get out my 1545 facsimile Luther text. The excitement of Luther's discoveries of the Hebrew original is electrifying. His German is so fresh and visual, so dynamic and 'at it'.

Tyndale's language, however, has an extra quality. For the sake of simplification I call it the John Constable tone. Infinite variety, a warm ground tone, a feeling of inspiring love and respect permeate Tyndale's language. There is always some kind of distant Welsh harp music – string plucking – which holds the masses of sounds together.

What Tyndale's language really achieves is that it reproduces the very life-process of nature – it is organic in contrast to being schematic, it is inspired by an unbroken trust in the renewal of life, it is minutely truthful in detail, and it always serves as a medium of communicating relevant information. In other words – it is universal in its complexity and it touches us because Tyndale was moved by the faithful love for his Bible and for his audiences, past, present and future.

Here in Germany we are especially close to Tyndale who has learned from Luther and who has our deep sympathies because of what he had to suffer under the imperial system. I wonder if our Europe is able to learn from Tyndale? I fear we do not have many more chances. And yet I'm hopeful because of the exciting renaissance of Tyndale's achievement.

My next broadcast on Tyndale is for the heartland of Luther and I'm hopeful that some more listeners will be introduced to his beautiful English.

Best wishes

Yours

Hans-Jörg

Hans-Jörg Modlmayr (*translated by the editor*)

Neue Psalmen: 17

New Psalms: 17

endlich löst
du dich vom Kreuz,
steigst herab,
bist befreit

at last you loose
yourself from the cross,
climb down,
are freed

den Rufmördern
kehrst du den Rücken,
die Inquisitoren
siehst du nicht mehr

character-assassins
you turn your back on,
the inquisitors
you see no more

der Frühling
kommt zu dir,
die Einsamkeit bricht

the Spring
comes to you,
breaks the solitude

in Auschwitz
kommst du
wieder zur Welt

in Auschwitz
you come
back to the world

William Tyndale Considers His Task

In the beginning God, the word,
the free property of all men.

How dusty, besmirched
and covered a thing
it has become, its glory
hidden from men's eyes.

We lack
our rightful epiphany.

An overdressed age –
domed hat, ruff and doublet
conceal the man, separate
him from virtue.

Great *Jehovah* is in the frost,
speaking to the bone –
iced diamond of the will.

Seasons turn, time runs away
with the melting snow,
the quicksilver brook
glints in the February sun.
Spring, reminder of age, accuses –
the mind must now bend to the task,
unto that which is left undone.

*The spirit is willing,
but the flesh is weak –*

so many recant at the sight
of their instruments –

“Shew them, that their minds
may turn from heresy.”

The powers that be
would tear the tongue from my head.

Christ, jewel of the new covenant,
spills rubies against
the retreating snow,
sheds his five wounds.

God shall be spoken
a boy that driveth the plough
shall know more of scripture
than these Pharisees.

My neck upon it.

Profile: Anne O'Donnell, SND

People frequently want to know how I, a Catholic nun, became executive editor of the Independent Works of William Tyndale, that sharp critic of late medieval Catholicism. To answer this question, I am happy to review my life, emphasizing those elements which contributed to my ecumenical commitment.

I was born in Baltimore, analogous to Erasmus' Rotterdam as a commercial port. Because Maryland was the only Catholic colony among the original thirteen states, the city has a strong Catholic tradition. Although the majority of Americans are Protestant, my parents' friends were mainly Catholic and Jewish. At Christmas parties, I would be impressed that the latter joined the singing of "Jingle Bells" but stood silent during "O Come All Ye Faithful."

My parents' chief concerns were their three children: Anne (b.1939), John (b.1944) and Philip (b.1948). One night Mother heard our homework while Dad washed the dishes; the next night they changed places. When we got to the eighth grade, they stopped checking because they said we knew how to study by then, and they were right. Much later, I would earn a Ph. D in English; Jack, a D Phil. in theology, and Phil, an M D in neurology.

Dad died in 1960. In June 1995 Mother celebrated her sixtieth college reunion. She is legally blind but keeps mentally alert by listening to books on tape. Jack is a Jesuit, who studied in Oxford, taught in London and Rome, and now is rector of one hundred Jesuits in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Phil is married to Joan, a lawyer; they have four children: Brigid, Caitlin, John Lennon and Kevin, and live on the historic James River south of Richmond, Virginia.

Looking back, I see my parochial elementary school as strict and regimented, probably because of the large classes. Thanks to a scholarship, I attended a Catholic girls' high school in a country mansion modelled on Warwick Castle. The Great Hall and gray towers certainly developed the imagination! The classes were small; the teachers, kind and reasonable.

Although I knew the vows would be difficult, I felt an attraction to the convent. Should I join the Carmelites, cloistered contemplatives, or the Maryknollers, overseas missionaries? In joining the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, I found elements of each. I love the liturgical readings of Mark after Epiphany, John after Easter, and Matthew and Luke through the long summer. I'm delighted to have a home-away-from-home in Oxford, Brussels and Rome – and Nairobi if I ever get that far.

After the novitiate, I made my first vows and moved to Trinity College in Washington DC, where I finished my BA in 1962. Outstanding among my teachers was Nancy Pollard Brown: an English woman who spent a distinguished career teaching in this American women's liberal arts college, and an Anglican who edited the Jesuit Robert Southwell at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Mrs Brown nominated me for a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, which supported a year's work for an MA at Stanford University in California. This was the golden age when John XXIII convened Vatican II and Paul VI continued the mission of *aggiornamento*. Along with the Rev Robert McAfee Brown, a Presbyterian observer at the council, several of my graduate student friends formed an ecumenical discussion group with SNDs at the nearby College of Notre Dame. They continued to meet for several years.

After teaching English and Latin at a girls' high school outside Philadelphia, and English at Trinity College my alma mater, I won a fellowship to Yale University for doctoral studies. In my second year I met Richard S Sylvester, founder of the Thomas More Project. Under his direction, I began to edit for my dissertation a Tudor version of Erasmus' *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, one perhaps translated by William Tyndale. Not willing then to get involved with religious polemic, I chose to work with Erasmus rather than Tyndale.

Thanks to a fellowship from the American Association of University Women, I spent 1969-70 in Europe. Following Erasmus' footsteps gave a clear direction to my first trans-Atlantic travels: Rotterdam, Brussels, Paris, Basel, London, Cambridge, Rome, Venice. I also visited Antwerp and the Tyndale monument in Vilvoorde. From November through May, I lived with the SNDs in Oxford, walking every day down Woodstock Road to the Bodleian. I never failed to mark the place in the Broad where Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer had been burnt.

Returning to Washington, I taught again at Trinity, finished my dissertation in 1972 and the next year moved full time to nearby Catholic University to teach Renaissance Lyric, epic and prose. In 1976 Richard Sylvester began to organize the Tyndale Project, based on the four dissertations he had already directed: critical editions of *Mammon* by John Dick, *Obedience* by Anne Richardson, *I John* by Donald Millus and *Matthew* by Stephen Mayer. With the *Enchiridion* accepted for publication by the Early English Text Society (1981), I was looking for another project. Because of my background in Northern Humanism, I volunteered to edit the as yet unclaimed *Answer to More*.

To build up my background in Reformation history for this new task, I spent a sabbatical in 1980-81 as visiting scholar at the Duke Divinity School in Durham NC. There I audited courses in Luther, and the English Reformation with David C Steinmetz. When our hopes were frustrated that Duke University Press would publish Tyndale, the project came to a halt for five years.

Then on 6 October 1986, the four-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of Tyndale's death, I offered a prayer of thanksgiving at Mass for Tyndale's service to the Bible; all answered "Amen." A few days later, the opportunity arose to introduce the Tyndale Project to the Catholic University Press. On 30 September 1987, the feast of the biblical scholar St Jerome, the press formally agreed to publish the Independent Works of William Tyndale.



"Have map, will travel."

I spent my sabbatical of 1988-89 in Toronto, the production site of the celebrated Collected Works of Erasmus. Specifically, I was a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University. During the fall, I read More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* and his thousand-page *Confutation of Tyndale* (a purgatorial experience). I also completed the scriptural annotation for *Answer to More*. In the spring, I collected material on women in the letters of Erasmus, to be presented in a lecture at the Warburg Institute on sixteenth century women, and in later papers on medieval, and classical women.

In Spring 1989, I took my second great European tour. Thanks to a grant from the national Endowment for the Humanities, I now have read all four surviving copies of Tyndale's *Answer to More*: in London, Cambridge, Dublin as well as in Washington. From Ireland I travelled by ferry to France, where I met Abbé Germain Marc'hadour in Angers. There we discussed plans for my editing a special Tyndale issue of *Moreana* (July 1991). I continued by train to Rome, where I met my brother Jack and the theological co-editor for *Answer to More*, Jared Wicks, SJ.

Following the Good Samaritan principle of responding to the need in one's path, I initiated plans for a Tyndale conference to be held in Washington in July 1994. Because of time and energy spent on these preparations, the completion of my critical edition of *Answer to More* has been delayed. Nevertheless, the knowledge exchanged and friendships developed at the conferences in Washington, Oxford and Toronto (cf. *The Tyndale Society Journal*, No 1, March 1995) have enriched my work and my life and, hopefully, that of many others.

During my third sabbatical in the calendar year of 1996, I will spend most of the time in Washington completing the various projects of 1994 and helping to prepare the *Obedience*, the second of the four Tyndale volumes, for the CUA Press. When I contrast Washington's sluggish July with its brisk October, I am encouraged to believe that the slow growth of the metaphorical summer of my life will result in the full harvest of a metaphorical autumn. "So then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither she that watereth: but God which gave the increase" (1 Corinthians 3:6).

Ronald J Sim: Changing Paradigms in Bible Translation

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In Africa today, approximately 100 languages have an adequate Bible, and less than 200 others have an adequate New Testament (Grimes 1989). Of these, a surprisingly high proportion represent translation work which was begun between 1820 and 1920. This represents a small fraction of Africa's languages, and ignores for the moment a silent drama being enacted behind the scenes, about which, read on...

Taken together, the bare statistics reveal little of the massive investment of human vision, energy, and toil that was undoubtedly involved. That investment was indeed stupendous. I have no wish to strike an over-laudatory note in praise of the missionary or mission of years past, nor of the present day, but there is room for a due acknowledgement of the efforts made, and the achievements realized. Long, arduous years of painstaking effort preceded every Bible and New Testament completed.

In 1826 Robert Moffatt took himself off into the bush, leaving his family at Kuruman (in the modern state of South Africa) for an extended period to improve his knowledge of Tlapi-Tswana. Several years later, in 1830, he undertook a protracted and arduous journey to the then Cape colony, where he taught himself to hand-set the Gospel of Luke on a disused Government press. Soon after he set up his own press in Kuruman, whence he proceeded to struggle with the drying rate of ink in the dry climate, in his efforts to publish each portion as it was completed. The New Testament, the first to be completed by an outsider in an African language, was published in 1839.

Usually, it was work done in the dark of the evening, after the busyness of the day was past. In most cases, the work probably resembled the gossamer fabric of a dream, in which progress was slow and small in comparison with the burgeoning growth of medical and educational efforts in the surrounding community.

But the commitment of the men (and their women partners) whose achievement these translations were, remains clear. Theirs was a vision of an established African church whose members could pick up the Christian Scriptures in their own language, and read it, preach it, teach it...a church whose spiritual life was strong and vibrant, whose people were literate, whose worship and witness was their own. Their vision was a developing reality founded on the availability of a Book, translated into the languages men and women used in the home.

The Church's Traditional Paradigm for Translation

Church historians have paid scant attention to the part played by Bible translation:

little more than passing mention is given to it in most historical accounts of the early growth of the church, whether in Africa or elsewhere. But even a casual acquaintance with the records (see especially United Bible Society 1987) suggests that church-planting

and evangelism for the one hundred years between about 1820 and 1920 followed a bilateral model, namely, that as the Christian message entered a community, the early years of preaching and teaching (oral activity) were accompanied by a parallel attention to Bible translation (written activity).

It may be contended that early missionary activity was generally holistic, in which the oral proclamation of the gospel was accompanied by social, medical and educational thrusts also. Moffatt's slogan (he would have termed it his 'watchword') of 'Bible and Plough' reveals a vision which combined social and spiritual witness; to this day development remains an arm of the church's ministry. Accepting an early holism of vision and practice, my contention here is that from the beginning Scripture translation was an integral part of the programme, and that it was fundamental to the missionary spread of the Christian faith. This is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than among the Baganda, where the early Christians were apparently known as 'The Readers', such was the emphasis on Scripture fostered by Alex Mackay in the 1880s. That there was a unique, if not outstanding effort in Africa to provide translations of Scripture in the vernacular languages is forcibly argued by Barrett (1968:191)

For the first time in history a mass movement... has been accompanied by...the whole vast range of vernacular scriptures... Never before in the history of missions has such a stupendous effort been made to provide Scriptures in the vernacular as has been done in Africa.

This might be termed the traditional paradigm of the church's international expansion. It ought not to be restricted to the post-Reformation period of mission, for attention to vernacular Scripture is evident in the patristic period and in Reformation Europe. Finally, note that until the period of modern mission, translation was a church, not para-church activity. It became mission-bound in the voluntary society' (Walls 1988), and has never really been a church ministry since then; perhaps because the church has failed to reincorporate it into her programme.

Within the confines of space afforded here, there is no opportunity to offer adequate support to this thesis of bilaterality, but Chergwin (1954) and Watkins (1978) offer some.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this vision and its realization in one community after another, is that it was attempted before the modern science of linguistics had any contribution to offer the translators. Alphabets were created for hitherto unwritten languages before there were any techniques that could be applied to assist the alphabet-makers. Indeed, in most cases, in the century to which we refer, there was not even the rudiments of phonetics to sharpen the ear of the investigator. For example, Waddell's (1868) brief paragraph with notes on an orthography for Efik are readily interpretable by a linguist today, and apart from writing only five instead of seven vowels, his account stands. The early portions in Efik were indeed published with only five vowels, but by the time the New Testament was published in 1862, this had been corrected to seven. Commenting on Waddell's senior colleague, Hugh Goldie, a recent doctoral dissertation notes that, compared with Waddell, Goldie was

a much more sophisticated linguist, and somehow accomplished the (to me inconceivable) feat of analyzing the grammatical structure of the language with considerable success in spite of not understanding the tonal system or (apparently) even being able to hear the tone *consciously* with any degree of consistency. I presume that Goldie could imitate and reproduce Efik tone without being aware of what (precisely) he was doing; otherwise I cannot imagine how he was capable of communicating in the language, as he almost surely was. [Cook (1985:4)]

If Cook is right, then it would seem that Goldie could indeed handle Efik tone in oral communication, even if he shows no evidence of having grappled with its import linguistically, and makes no consistent attempt to mark it in the translation. The nearest Goldie gets is in an occasional mention of what he terms ‘prosody’, though whether he intends tonal features or poetic rhythm is not clear. That Goldie and Waddell heard something is clear from a remark concerning ‘accented vowels’ in Waddell (1868:674). The great majority of languages in sub-Saharan Africa are tonal in nature, and it must remain an enduring disappointment that so little attempt was made to mark tone in most cases. On the other hand, the sheer complexity of tonal systems, often with perturbations which defy explanations based on ‘surface grammar’, have only proved amenable to linguistically-motivated explanation in the last twenty-five years. These rather technical explanations generally depend upon a level of linguistic description which ‘underlies’ the surface pronunciation, and posits such theoretical constructs as tonal downstep and floating tones. If Goldie and Waddell had been able in the 1850s to make any advances in the marking of tone it would have been truly miraculous!

In the same cause, serious attempts began to be made to unravel the intricacies of languages all round the continent, and these also preceded the rise of even the modest attempts to describe non-European languages made in North America by men like Franz Boas (1858-1942), Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1949) and Edward Sapir (1884-1939) in the early decades of the 20th century.

Cultural differences, between the ancient biblical societies and the contemporary African societies where the work was developing, made the translators’ task a constant search for innovatory solutions, a constant wrestling for a balance between faithfulness and communicativeness. Turning again to Efik, the Lord’s prayer, translated in the 1850s, bears eloquent witness to this, in one particular situation. It is quoted here in a back-translation into English:

Our Father who lives on high, make your name great beyond all other names. Come King of the world. Make all people on earth do what you like, as the people on high do. Give us food which we shall eat today.

Stand off (forgive) for the bad things which we do, even as we forgive to those who do us evil. Let us not hear temptation. Save us quite from the evil spirit Satan, because everything on high and on earth belongs to you. You also encircle (rule) all the world for ever and ever. Amen.

(Waddell (1868:677)

There is no feeling of a literal, wooden attempt at 'King James' Efik evident here.

Too often such work is belittled by the modern counterparts of such pioneers – the young, confident, linguistically somewhat sophisticated, denim-clad denizens of the late 20th century missionary force. It is true, some early translation work has stood the test of time poorly; some was rather quickly superseded; some solutions tried would raise more than an eyebrow from today's translation consultants! The remarkable thing is that so much was achieved by an intuitive groping after an elusive ideal. And it was on the basis of such very human efforts that God dared to found his New Community in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Church's Recent Paradigm

As the decades passed, the new, indigenous Christian communities began to make their presence felt. It is estimated that by 1900, one-tenth of the population of Africa acknowledged allegiance to the new faith. Nor was that population confined to those ethno-linguistic groups where expatriate missionaries had settled and worked; increasingly as the 20th century got under way, it was African Christians themselves who took up Christ's commission 'to go...' Africa was as linguistically diverse then as now – see figures below – and her people carried the oral gospel into language after language. It is a contention here that their very success contributed to the (probably partly sub-conscious) abandonment of the earlier bilateral model: the church expanded faster than missionaries could translate. The welter of languages must have seemed endless and the possibility or hope of translating for every community receded; enthusiastic African evangelists took the translation which had been made available in their own language and used it as their preaching and teaching tool in neighbouring communities also.

It is suggested here that this was a major and significant reason. But it would be folly to hold to a reductionist line on this. Very clearly there were other reasons. As the nineteenth century approached its close, at least two other factors brought about a change in emphasis in some, though not all, missionary circles on the African continent. The growing influence of Enlightenment thinking in the European church resulted in new foci of attention. First, there was an optimistic expectation of approaching millennial blessing on earth, as the gospel flowered worldwide. This stream of thought drew much from the prevailing intellectual climate of the Enlightenment. Second, there was a concomitant close identification of Western culture, broadly conceived as 'Christian' and 'civilized', with Christian mission; hence the growing identification of colonialism with certain mission efforts. These were two key influences in reducing Bible dependence and Bible confidence within the missionary force.

At the same time, missionaries themselves, in whose hands the translation enterprise rested at that time, sought a solution to the bogie of proliferation of translations via the philosophy of what came to be known as the Union Bible. This took the goal, laudable in itself, of covering as many 'dialects' as possible in a single translation. It was not always well-conceived linguistically, however, and led to an over-optimistic picture of what needed to be done.

It is not that translation stopped, nor even that it slowed down. However, it does seem that the growth of the church in early 20th century Africa outstripped the efforts of missionary-translators, and eventually, it seems, affected the capacity to expand into new communities.

At any rate, since the 1920s, it seems safe to conclude that many missions, many missionaries, and many African Christian communities accepted the emerging status quo; namely, that the church in an ethno-linguistic community of a multi-ethnic nation should not expect to have any translated part of the Word of God in its own language. Needless to say, the community in which the church was established earlier may have received mother-tongue translation. It seems to have been a common (but ethno-centric) assumption that the community reached later would also get accustomed to using it too. And this is in spite of the apparent link between the provision of vernacular scripture and the subsequent rise of independent churches (Barrett 1968). It would also seem that the crucial role scriptures played in reforming the churches' life went unrecognized by the reformers themselves.

This assumption gives rise to what B F Grimes (1986) calls the 'broker model', in which an educated group have direct access to Scripture in a language in which they, as individuals, are adequately bilingual, and then become 'brokers' of the message to others in the community. A broker model, as in all brokerage, favours the emergence of an elitist, prestige group, with all its attendant dangers. It also tends to operate to the disadvantage of the receptor community at large, in that spiritual growth becomes effectively tied to second-language skills. In this situation, it is probable that the second community often does not even realize that it could aspire to possessing a translation in its first language!

The psychological barrier of not realizing the possibility of having mother-tongue scriptures, plus the further psychological barrier, that neither community developed any clear notion of the investment of toil and financial resources required, still present obstacles to the Africanization of translation today. The change of pattern noted is fundamental enough to be conceived of as a paradigm shift away from the post-Reformation bilateral model.

Apart from the linguistic diversity of the African milieu, and its consequence, namely, that meeting the need of translation grew to be for ever out of reach, two other factors are often appealed to as a justification for limiting the translation task.

First is the spread of so-called trade languages or lingua francas across major sectors of the population. Examples include the spread of KiSwahili in eastern Africa, from the coast as far as eastern Zaire, Lingala and Bangala, also in Zaire, and many others. Second is the growth of an educated population which is comfortable with and conversant in one of the major colonial languages: English, French or Portuguese. In both cases, the argument is the same: that the spread of these languages will continue, through growing mobility of population and greater access to education, and the major task of providing translation is vitiated by that.

It would seem that in the late colonial period the consensus of opinion concerning the changing role of languages of wider communication versus the languages of ethnic minorities was much too optimistic. Missions were, of course, influenced by the prevailing attitudes of the period and of the emerging independent African states. There is evidence to suggest that language policy in missions changed under these influences, in that more than one mission changed its focus away from local ethnic languages to the national and official languages of the polity.

In the following sections I will offer evidence to suggest that the resulting lack of attention to Bible translation by both missions and the African church is ill-motivated, injudicious and premature. I will also draw attention to emerging patterns of translation activity, and finally I will look at the implications of these patterns for the future.

Africa Today: Major Socio-economic Indicators

This section will consider various major socio-economic indicators and attempt an evaluation of their impact on the continuing recognition of translation and literary needs.

First, everywhere, population is burgeoning. Since 1900, the population of Africa has grown from an estimated 100 million, to 450 millions in 1990. At current rates of growth, this figure will double again by 2010 AD.

In most countries, urbanization is taking place at significant rates; as a percentage of total national population in 1984, the urban population ranges from 3% in Burundi to 45% in CAR. Urbanization during the period 1973-84 averaged approximately 10% per annum, with Lesotho reaching 20% during the same period (World Bank Policy Study 1988). And yet, because of population growth rates, rural population is still expanding, and most ethno-linguistic groups are also increasing in size. Nor does it seem that urbanization is bringing a reduction in linguistic diversity: minority languages seem to maintain their validity, although the domains in which they function are subject to some restriction. Indeed Lieberman (1980) maintains that it is segregation, or dispersal of speakers of different ethnic languages which is the significant factor, rather than urbanization itself. There is certainly no evidence here to support the expectation that minority African languages are on the way out in any significant numbers.

Second, in most African nations, educational systems first expanded greatly following independence, and have then gone into stagnation. Indeed, in spite of concentrated attention on education in post-independence years, it has been suggested that Africa has experienced a fall in the proportion of its people who are literate, numerate, adequately fed, and healthy (World Bank Report 1989). This stagnation in primary and secondary sector education has affected both enrolment and quality, which in general are seen to be in decline. It would require astonishing confidence to assume that the emergence of a thoroughly bilingual and literate continental population is just around the corner. The implication, again, is that numbers of people-groups will continue to require translated Scriptures if the Christian gospel is to be effectively communicated to them.

Third, various economic indicators point to Africa being the poorest continent at this time in human history. Of the 41 poorest countries on the planet, 28, or 68% of them, are in Africa. Thirteen African countries are reckoned to be poorer in per capita terms today than when they gained their independence. The reasons identified are many. Population growth strains the infrastructure, and places pressure on the environment. The problems this causes for agriculture are increasingly acknowledged: fragile agricultural land is being over-worked, while deforestation, erosion and desertification are creating growing concern. Even in trade, Africa has lost a major share in world markets. Many have called in question the basic tenets of North-world economic systems, and even today, when free-market economics enjoy such vogue, it can be asked, in the Bishop of Monmouth's words, whether the market is a 'stern but essentially benign adjudicator' or simply 'the mask[s] of old-fashioned greed and moral tone-deafness' (*Guardian Weekly*, Oct 4 1992). Faults in African political structures are also identified. National political structures throughout the continent are also in a time of change. The politico-economic prognosis is not sufficiently clear to predict the welfare of rural communities in which the benefit of Christian Scriptures and literacy in the mother-tongue of minority groups is unnecessary.

In summary, rather than such socio-economic trends reducing the need for Bible translation, in most nations such a need is likely to remain for the foreseeable future.

People are both the ends and means of development. Although improved health, nutrition and education are ends in themselves, healthy and educated human beings are also the primary means for achieving development asserts World Bank Report 1989, and continues, The future development strategy calls for a new commitment to developing Africa's human resources.

Broad-based development, embracing fertility, nutrition, water, health care, and education are being called for. The interdependence of these is recognized, in which, for example, improvement in the latter areas has a desirable effect in lowering fertility levels. Rather than strong mother-tongue usage being detrimental to the growth of the national identity, it can be argued that it is fundamental to minority group development.

Fourth, although African traditional religion is still strong in many areas, in recent years it has increasingly become a substratum to the three major competing ideologies of Islam, Christianity and secular materialism.

Islam continues to expand aggressively, as does Christianity, and it is recognized that these three ideologies together are likely to come into increasing conflict as the 'common grazing' provided by traditional religions diminishes.

Contact with the post-Christian North-World, and its acknowledged materialism, hedonism and religious agnosticism, spread as it is through Western educational systems, has been one factor in the appearance of similar tendencies within Africa. This is likely to fuel a growing nominalism within African Christendom. On the other hand, there is a move in North-World thought towards a pantheistic mysticism in which New Age movements incorporate central features of Hindu world view. This is increasingly influential in conservationist and ecological circles, and has a growing influence on both North and South world political expression. How this new recognition of the 'sacredness of Nature' will be reflected in a resurgence of traditional religion, in Africa and elsewhere, remains to be seen.

What can be the future of Christianity in this emerging scenario? What can be done to strengthen the church where it exists, and plant it where it does not? Will evangelism alone be enough? Will discipleship programmes by themselves ensure success? Even where Christianity is dominant, the danger of syncretism from a substratum of African traditional religion continues to be a genuine concern to African Christian leadership.

There is much to suggest that both Islam and traditional religion find ritual sufficient, and tend to minimize rational content. The Christian faith, while far from rejecting an experiential side or a ritual aspect, integrates these within a meaningful, contentful teaching. It is an intelligible Scripture that informs the ritual and fosters a vital experiential faith. Both Islam and Christianity give a great deal of reverence to a book. The difference in perspective, however, is also great. For Islam, the Qur'an has until recently been regarded as untranslatable, and hence strongly language- and culture-bound. This is still largely the case, as Lamin Sanneh (1989 and 1992) also asserts, in spite of its recent translation into sixty-five languages (Waldman 1992: 162), although the trend demonstrates a potentially powerful swing in attitude. As I try to show in this essay, it is a long-standing and pervasive part of Christian tradition, in both doctrine and practice, that the Bible is translated and becomes an open revelation for the church.

According to Barrett (1968), the single most important factor in the renewal of the African church, has been the provision of vernacular scriptures. The religious picture also, then, suggests that mother-tongue Scriptures will have a vital role in the African church of the future.

Fifth, consider the language and translation picture. Africa is home to 1,900 ethnolinguistic groups, one third of the world's total. These break down into the following categories (Grimes 1989):

<i>Languages which have:</i>	<i>an adequate Bible</i>	95	
	<i>an adequate New Testament</i>	<u>179</u>	
			274
<i>Languages in which translation is in progress</i>		287	
<i>Languages in which definite need is established</i>		317	
	<i>translation need is undetermined</i>	<u>975</u>	
			1292

It is not easy to assess what percentage of Africa's population is covered by these 95 Bibles. When the number of adequate New Testaments is included, the figure certainly includes almost all the larger groups, so that a substantial majority of her people do have access to the Word of God in their own language.

However, available figures do not permit the separation of mother-tongue from second language speakers of any published translation, far less the separation of the number of more adequately biligual people from the less than adequately bilingual. This is unfortunate, since the information would clarify the picture enormously. Some recent empirical research has sought to establish the distribution and level of bilingualism in individual rural communities by both self-reporting and testing methods. In general this research notes lower and less widespread fluency in major lingua francas than has generally been assumed by government and non-government agencies.

Quite naturally, this is turning out to be particularly true of those groups which have not been a conscious focus of national development in recent decades. The many people groups whose spiritual needs are not going to be adequately met by existing Bible and New Testaments are the so-called 'hidden peoples', who are 'hidden' by the various reasons offered in the previous section. In a number of cases a community resisted evangelization in the 19th or early 20th century, and remains unreached to this day. A serious analysis of the reasons for this earlier non-receptivity once again lies out-with the scope of an essay such as this, but it may be significant that in a number of such communities there was no attempt to provide vernacular Scripture. Although conjectural here, it is at least plausible to suggest that the lack seriously affected the contextualization of the message; this would then form the converse of Barrett's correlation of renewal with provision of vernacular Scripture, referred to above.

The drama referred to in the opening sentences can now be revealed. Translation which is currently in progress is equal to (and may exceed) the cumulative total of all previous translation achievements on the continent during the history of the church. No Trans-Africa Inter-Mission Conference planned this. No Pan-Africa Church Colloquium considered it. Without conscious human deliberations, the translation of the Word of God has mushroomed!

Finally, note that the category listed as 'definite need established' can be considered to arise from two basic sources. There are people groups who in recent years have expressed a desire for translation into their own language, perhaps for a variety of reasons. It is also possible to examine in some detail the sociological and linguistic variables which are active in a community, and to determine the extent to which the evangelistic and discipleship needs of the group are, or are not, adequately met by an existing translation. The category in the above table consists of ethno-linguistic communities of both sorts. The category predicts that, at the minimum, present efforts will require to be doubled. This takes no account of the large number of groups still hidden in the 'need undetermined' category at the end of the table. While not all of them need to be the focus of translation projects, it is to be expected that a significant number will.

In summary, work which is in progress right now is equal to all work done on the continent in the past. Further, it is almost certain that less than half of the translation work required has already begun! We can admire the efforts of the past; we should recognize the labours of the present. But there remains a major challenge for the future. More lies ahead than has yet been accomplished.

An Emerging New Paradigm

During the second half of this century, particularly since the spread of independence during the 1960s, and increasingly as time has passed, the balance of effort has shifted in translation activity. Whereas in earlier work, the missionary was in the position of leadership and control, more recently a new paradigm has asserted itself. In projects undertaken by United Bible Societies in major languages, local church leadership has been able to provide educated African Christians as a responsible part of the whole team. Sometimes theologically trained, these men have rightly brought about a swing of responsibility towards the local church. Increasingly the leadership and progress of the translation programme has been in their hands.

In the work of Summer Institute of Linguistics also, this changing balance has become evident. Often focusing as it does on the smaller, often educationally more deprived linguistic minorities, SIL's work might be expected to show evidence of this change later in time, and to a lesser extent. These expectations are broadly correct, but now, it seems, the momentum is gathering. An increasing number of SIL projects include a major contribution from educated mother-tongue speakers of the language concerned, and such men and women are playing an increasingly competent, increasingly decisive role, with the expatriate as a partner.

A second factor is evident in the emergence of this trend. In recent years, the various national Bible Societies within UBS have become stronger, and also a number of independent national Bible translation and literacy organizations or 'NBTLOs' have been established during the 1970s and 1980s in several countries. They are headed-up by Christians of the country concerned, and, when expatriates are also locally involved, increasingly they are seconded to these NBTLOs for work. Also, under the stimulus of

the NBTLOs, an increasing number of translation programmes either commence under the leadership of local translators, or move to that position during the course of work.

This trend is no isolated development. It is happening just as the involvement of African Christians in missionary enterprise begins to get off the ground, and is assuredly part of that wider movement. Pate (1991), in speaking to the issue of Two-Thirds World missionaries, reckons that 5,689 non-Western missionaries were at work in Africa in 1980, and that this has jumped to 19,097 by 1990. In his estimation, over 50% of the missionary force in Africa will be from the Two-Thirds World by the end of the decade. In that figure are many African men and women serving in missionary roles in various parts of the continent.

The change in the way translation is currently being handled, then, is one that rides the groundswell of shifting mission dynamics in the Two-Thirds World. It promises indeed to be a new paradigm. It offers the best hope that translation can catch up at last with the expansion of the church in the continent. It offers the best preparation for continued church growth in the context of Islam and secularism. More even than that, it offers the best hope that translation can be completed on the continent.

Although in the modern world Bible translation is recognized to be a complex, specialist task which requires high educational resources, the current shift does bring it closer again to being a church rather than a parachurch ministry.

Africa Tomorrow: Training, Responsibility and Resources

If African Christians in large numbers are to become involved in Bible translation, and if their deployment to see the whole translation task completed is to become a reality, several implications must be drawn out and addressed.

First, there is the obvious need of training. It is surely uncontroversial that the need for Christian training of all kinds must expand, for whatever ministry. It is certainly safe to say that training for translators must increase dramatically. Bible translation is not a task which is satisfactorily handled by basic training in the skills it requires. Within Africa, in 1993, the necessary cross-disciplinary training required for the Bible translation ministry is currently only available in Nairobi, at Pan Africa Christian College, and at NEGST. The former offers a BA programme, and the latter a graduate programme. In both, there is the opportunity to combine biblical studies, biblical languages, cross-cultural studies and the basic linguistics and translation foundation on which competent, successful work can be established. For a translator is not merely a theologian: he is also a linguist, a person with developed cross-cultural sensitivities, and a communicator.

Second, there is the question of resources. Whether for right or wrong, in the past it was the Western missionary who provided not only the vision and the theological knowledge, but the financial resources. An increasing number of African men and women have the practical experience of translating the Word of God into their own language. With that experience has come a growing vision for those still without Scriptures. The opportunities for achieving academic expertise are available too. What remains is for the church in

Africa to harness these growing resources, and channel them into new translations and new literacy developments. To do so will require both vision, and a tremendous financial investment. It will require leadership to embrace the continuing need of further translation, and the long-term nature of the task. It will require the wider Christian community in the continent to see its own part in the stewardship of resources God has given. Rather than propose a flow of financial support from outside, I am personally convinced that the commitment of resources will follow a growing vision. This, of course, is not a new idea in missiological thinking, except in its specific application to the ministry of translation.

Nor is it a recent idea in practice. Some five hundred copies of the first edition of the New Testament in Efik, published in 1862, have the distinction that the book of Genesis is bound in with them. The result is curious, but the reason for it is both memorable and humbling. The cost of binding-in Genesis was met by African slaves in Jamaica. Some of them had been converted as they worked on the sugar plantations and their concern for the place of their roots led them to raise funds which allowed the National Bible Society of Scotland to supply Genesis in this way.

Conclusion

The past two hundred years exhibit two paradigms within which the church's translation tasks were accomplished. The earlier, which I have referred to as a bilateral model, sought to provide a written translation alongside the oral proclamation of the Christian faith to a community. This was replaced some time in the early part of the 20th century by a unilateral model, in which, I have suggested, church growth significantly outstripped the expansion of translation activity, so that it became 'normal' for an emerging Christian community to lack its own Scripture and to depend, through its educated few, on Scripture from an external language. In both models, it was usually the expatriate missionary who headed up the effort.

Today, in the 1990s, there appears to be a third paradigm emerging, in which the African Christian community itself is beginning to engage in the further expansion of translation ministry. Whether this will follow a more holistic model or not, the significant feature is the involvement of the local church in translation for sectors of its own ethnically and linguistically diverse community. This probably offers the church the only hope that Bible translation has of catching up with church growth.

In its provision of the revelation of God which he gave his people, Bible translation arguably holds the most effective bulwark against nominalism, or competing ideologies, by maximizing the meaning of the Good News message over against a merely formal, ritual grasp. The spread of post-Christianity throughout the western world makes it clear that scripture in the language of the people is not a sufficient condition by itself, but I propose here that it is an essential one.

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Hilary Day: Postwar Bible Translations – The New Testament translated by J B Phillips

Phillips' translation of the New Testament was started during the Second World War. He began with the Epistles which were published in 1947 under the title *Letters to Young Churches*. His translation of the Gospels followed in 1952; that of the Acts of the Apostles – *The Young Church in Action* – in 1955 and *The Book of Revelation* in 1957. He also translated four prophetic books from the Old Testament, published in 1963. He later set about a complete revision of his New Testament which was published in 1972. This is readily available in paperback with a picture of the Graham Sutherland Tapestry in Coventry Cathedral on the cover.¹

Phillips relates the history of his task in the Introduction to the new edition. "I began the work of translation as long ago as 1941, and the work was undertaken primarily for the benefit of my Youth Club, and members of my congregation, in a much-bombed parish in S E London. I had almost no tools to work with apart from my own Greek Testament and no friends who could help me in this particular field. I felt then that since much of the New Testament was written to Christians in danger, it should be particularly appropriate for us who, for many months, lived in a different, but no less real, danger. I began with the Epistles since most of my Christian members had at least a nodding acquaintance with the Gospels, but regarded the Epistles as obscure and difficult and therefore largely unread. In those days of danger and emergency I was not over-concerned with minute accuracy, I wanted above all to convey the vitality and radiant faith as well as the courage of the early Church."²

He laid out his philosophy of translation in the Translator's Preface to *Letters to Young Churches*.

1. As far as possible the language used must be such as is commonly spoken, written and understood at the present time.
2. When necessary the translator should feel free to expand or explain, while preserving the original meaning as nearly as can be ascertained.
3. The Letters should read like letters, not theological treatises. Where the Greek is informal and colloquial, the English should be the same.
4. The translation (or in some cases, the paraphrase) should 'flow' and be easy to read. Artificial 'verses' should be discarded, though cross-headings can be introduced to divide the letters into what seem to be their natural sections.
5. Though every care must be taken to make the version accurate, the projected value of this version should lie in its 'easy-to-read' quality. For close meticulous study, existing modern versions should be consulted.³

Phillips worked exclusively from his Greek Testament making no recourse to AV with its 'hallowed accociations', so he, like Tyndale, was producing a completely new translation. Phillips believed strongly that Paul did not know that his letters would be regarded as Holy Scripture and that the translator should not attempt to iron out perceptible and, to Phillips, naturally human, inconsistencies. This attitude allowed him a certain freshness of approach which is reflected in the style of the translation.

I give here as example Romans 8:18ff, with Tyndale and AV for comparison.

Tyndale: D For I suppose that the afflictions of this life, are not worthy of the glory which shall be showed upon us. Also the fervent desire of the creatures abideth looking when the sons of God shall appear, because the creatures are subdued to vanity against their will: but for his will which subdueth them in hope. For the very creatures shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

AV: 18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.

19 For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God.

20 For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope.

21 Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

Phillips (1957): **Present Distress is Temporary and Negligible**

VIII, 18 In my opinion whatever we may have to go through now is less than nothing compared with the magnificent future God has planned for us. The whole creation is on tiptoe to see the wonderful sight of the sons of God coming into their own. The world of creation cannot as yet see Reality, not because it chooses to be blind, but because in God's purpose it has been so limited - yet it has been given hope. And the hope is that in the end the whole of created life will be rescued from the tyranny of change and decay, and have its share in that magnificent liberty which can only belong to the children of God!

By 1972 Phillips had replaced 'God has planned for us' with 'God has in store for us', and had removed the upper case from 'reality'; I am happy to report that creation remains on tiptoe. (REB has: 'The created universe is waiting with eager expectation' – more sedate but less charming.)

It is well to remember that Phillips first produced his translation in a climate of opinion which necessitated the defensive line taken by C S Lewis in his Introduction to *Letters to Young Churches*. Lewis refers to those who 'feel that a modern translation is not only unnecessary but even offensive. They cannot bear to see the time-honoured words (of the AV) altered; it seems to them irreverent.'⁴ Lewis draws the comparison with the sixteenth century when pious people objected to the Scriptures being translated from the "time-honoured Latin of the Vulgate into our common and (as they thought) 'barbarous' English. A sacred truth seemed to them to have lost its sanctity when it was stripped of the polysyllabic Latin... and put into 'language such as men do use' – language steeped in all the commonplace associations of the nursery, the inn, the stable, and the street."⁵ Half a century after Lewis wrote this, similar sentiments continue to be voiced, but the original sense of outrage has diminished.

Mindful of the readers for whom his translation was intended, Phillips furnished brief abstracts at the beginning of each Epistle, giving its author, date, destination and theme. He divided the writings into sections with headings such as the one quoted above in Romans 8. In his 1972 revision he has also included the traditional verse numberings in the margin.

Phillips felt that there were three essential principles of translation: that it must not read like a translation at all; that the translator must not obtrude his own style and personality; and the translation should as much as possible produce the same effect on its readers as did the original. He is espousing that type of translation known as ‘dynamic equivalence’. Eugene Nida explains that “in such a translation one is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic relationship, that the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message.”⁶ Nida cites Phillips’ rendering of Romans 16:16 as a good example of dynamic equivalence. Tyndale’s ‘Salute one another with an holy kiss’, adopted by AV, becomes in Phillips ‘Give each other a hearty hand-shake all round in Christian love.’ This sounds frightfully British but is perilously close to the ‘cultural adaptation’ which Nida censures elsewhere.⁷ Whilst Phillips asserted that the translator is not a commentator, he has taken it upon himself to adapt certain passages to suit the culture of his day, thereby introducing ideas which were alien to the culture of the original text, as for example, when he writes in Luke 13:11 of “a woman who for eighteen years had been ill from some psychological cause.” (Tyndale and AV: And behold there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years.)

Although anxious to produce an ‘easy-to-read’ language, relevant to his modern audience, he was aware of the differences in style between the original documents. He claimed that most of the New Testament books were written in the colloquial everyday language of their time, but he also felt that the style of his translation of the Old Testament prophetic books should reflect the ‘higher’ style of the original. The same was true of the book of Revelation.

In his Translator’s Preface to the *Book of Revelation*, as he calls it, Phillips writes of the peculiarity of the Greek which ‘piles word upon word remorselessly, mixes cases and tenses without apparent scruple, and shows at times a complete disregard for normal syntax and grammar.’⁸ He comes to the conclusion that the writer had written down his ecstatic experience ‘*during the visions*’ (his italics).⁹ He believed, therefore, that he had no right to correct what the original writer had scrupled to modify and his only claim in his new translation was to remove some of the obscurities of archaic language. The result is quite different from the style of the Letters. Here is Revelation 1:12ff.

Tyndale: And I turned back to see the voice that spake to me. And when I was turned: I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the candlesticks, one like unto the son of man clothed with a linen garment down to the ground, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head, and his hairs were white, as white wool, and as snow: and his eyes were as a flame of fire: and his feet like unto brass, as though they burnt in a furnace: and his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars. And out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword. And his face shone even as the sun in his strength.

AV: 12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;

13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.

Phillips (1957): I turned to see whose voice it was that was speaking to me, and when I had turned I saw seven golden lampstands, and among these lampstands I saw someone like a Son of Man. He was dressed in a long robe with a golden girdle about His breast; His head and His hair were white as snow-white wool, His eyes blazed like fire, and His feet shone as the finest bronze glows in the furnace. His voice had the sound of a great waterfall, and I saw that in His right hand He held seven stars. A sharp two-edged sword came out of His mouth, and His face was ablaze like the sun at its height.

Apart from using lower case for 'His' in the 1972 revision, this remains the same.

I have used the word 'revision' but Phillips himself saw his 1972 edition as a new translation 'from the latest and best Greek text published by the United Bible Societies in 1966 and recognised by scholars of all denominations as the best source available.'¹⁰ One of the reasons he gives for having attempted the task of retranslation was that, somewhat to his own surprise, the 'Phillips' was being used as an authoritative version in Study Groups. His original zeal to transmit something of what he saw as the emotions of the original writings had led him into paraphrase and sometimes into interpolating clarifying comments not in the original Greek. He had to curb his 'youthful enthusiasms,'¹¹ so he felt compelled to delete ('not without some pangs of regret'¹²) most of his conversationally – worded additions in the Letters of Paul, such as 'as I am sure you realise' or 'you must know by now.'

It is perhaps surprising that in his revision he did not choose to alter his rendering of the opening verses of Matthew 8:26 (Tyndale, AV: why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?), where he employs a peculiarly Germanic construction nowhere used in these islands: 'Why are you so frightened, you little-faiths?'

Readers may like to look at Phillips' (1972) rendering of the opening verses of Hebrews (Phillips entitles it *Letters to Jewish Christians*) which I quoted in my article on the NEB and REB.

God, who gave to our forefathers many different glimpses of the truth in the words of the prophets, has now, at the end of the present age, given us the truth in the Son. Through the Son God made the whole universe, and to the Son he has ordained that all creation shall ultimately belong. This Son, radiance of the glory of God, flawless expression of the nature of God, himself the upholding power of all that is, having effected in person the cleansing of men's sin, took his seat at the right hand of the majesty on high – thus proving himself, by the most glorious name that he had been given, far greater than all the angels of God.

This for me presents a more satisfactory and accessible reading of this difficult passage than even the improved REB's: Phillips' felicitous 'glimpses of the truth' conveys so much more than NEB's 'fragmentary and varied fashion' or REB's 'many and varied ways.'

The reader is eagerly carried along by the breathless, urgent style of Phillips' translation of Mark's Gospel, which seems to reflect so well the tone of the evangelist's message, a message which must have spoken to Phillips' readers in the same way as Tyndale's fresh translation in the sixteenth century. It is hard to resist taking the parallel further: Tyndale and Phillips, both alone with their Greek Testaments; both in considerable, though different, danger; both in the face of fierce antagonism burning to transmit for the ploughboy and the Youth Club in bombed-out London the transforming message of hope for all contained in the words of Scripture.

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- 12 *op cit*, p ix

In my first article I referred to the translation of William Moffatt. This was an error, and I apologise to both William Moffatt, with whom I am unacquainted, and to James Moffatt, who of course was the real Moffatt in question.

LETTERS

David Keep: The RSV

I was surprised by Hilary Day's article *Postwar Bible Translations* to find that she has overlooked what is probably the most important and most widely read postwar version. The Revised Standard Version was based on the American Revised Version of 1901. The New Testament did not make a very great impact from 1946, but once the Old Testament appeared in 1952 it became widely used in pulpit and classroom. The completion of the Apocrypha in 1953 paved the way for *The Common Bible* 1957, the first version approved by Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.

The two great advantages of this are that it can be used alongside the AV, still the most widely sold version, and it does, like Tyndale, translate the Greek and Hebrew. I had the pleasure of teaching NT Greek for eighteen years and still prepare my sermons from the RSV and Greek. It is not always possible to identify the NT ideas in more 'popular' versions which have proliferated since, to say nothing of the debasement of language!

Stella Read: Tyndale's Speech

Professor Daniell, in a lecture he gave at the Bristol University Tyndale Conference, advanced the suggestion that Tyndale's choice of language in his Bible translation may have been influenced by the speech surrounding him both during his Gloucestershire upbringing and later during his post-University work as tutor to the Walsh children at Little Sodbury Manor.

In the course of his lecture Dr Daniell read several passages from Tyndale's translation, including Genesis 22. In verse 5, Abraham is made to say to his servants: 'Bide here...' In the Gloucestershire country speech this would, of course, be pronounced 'bide yur', and I remembered hearing this many times when a child (together with the injunction 'bide quiet'). When I remarked on this to Dr Daniell he asked me if I would be willing to do a trawl through Tyndale's Genesis to see whether I could find any other examples of Gloucestershire phraseology.

I agreed to do so but, on further consideration, I realised how long it was since I had been surrounded by the kind of speech whose evidence I was about to seek. Fortunately I was put in touch with a lady at present living in South Gloucester-shire who agreed to co-operate with me. Each of us, independently of the other, read through Tyndale's Genesis and wrote our reports.

I do not know how my contact approached the text, but I read it aloud to myself, with the accent remembered from my youth. How far this may have influenced my attitude to it I do not know. When I compared our lists of the examples we found which seemed to us to reflect Gloucestershire speech they were almost identical, save that she had included a couple which I had omitted because, while they had a country 'feel', I could not clearly identify them as Gloucestershire. This is our list:

2:10 and there spronge a river...
 2:25 they were ether of them naked...
 5:4 eight hundred yere...
 11:9 they left off to build...
 14:11 all their vitalles...
 16:1 no childerne...
 22:5 Byde here with the ass – I and the lad will goo yonder.
 26:16 Thou art mightier than we a great deale.
 29:13 When Laban heard tell...
 34:12 Axe freely of me...
 35:5 they durst not folowe...
 39:2 He was a luckie felowe...
 39:23 The Lord made it come luckely to passe.

My fellow-worker, despite the examples she identified, expressed doubts to me as to whether Tyndale's upbringing, probably with a private tutor, would have allowed him much contact with Gloucestershire countryfolk. I myself have no such doubts. There would have been the servants in the house at the very least and I cannot imagine his not being free, at least sometimes, to wander about the village and the neighbouring farms and even, maybe, to play with the local boys. My own reservations are quite different and arise from my lack of knowledge of the history of spoken English. The translation has, to me, a 'country' feel about it, but I could not press this without knowing whether in Tyndale's time town and rural speech were markedly different. No doubt the speech at Court and University would have been of a different kind, but Tyndale was not a courtier and in his translation he was deliberately writing for ordinary people and not for scholars. When I say this I do not in any way mean to imply that his work was not scholarly, but only that he had what the Shaker hymn calls 'the gift to be simple'.

I think it is also necessary to know the extent to which country speech differed across the midland counties and central southern England. Is it fair to pick on a few words or phrases and label them as native to Gloucestershire rather than, say, Northants or even Dorset? East Anglia, the extreme South-East and the northern counties may well be another matter.

What is needed here is a philologist with a particular knowledge of the development of the English language as it emerged from Middle English and became recognisable as the language we know and use today. How and when did regional dialects develop? Were the differences between them as great in vocabulary and idiom as in accent? Have the areas displaying these differences been mapped? Did the differences develop in the Middle English period or do they perhaps go back even further than that?

The suggestion made by Dr Daniell is an interesting one, but all my preliminary investigations have succeeded in doing is to raise even more questions, none of which I am able to answer. Can any reader of this article help?

Victor Perry: Some Publications on Tyndale

The Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical and Theological Research held its jubilee conference in July 1994. Some of the papers have been published under the title *A pathway into the Holy Scripture*, ed. P. E. Satterthwaite and D. F. Wright (Eerd-mans/Gracewing, 0-8028-4078-7, viii, 344 pp., £16.99). The first paper is 'Pathway to Reformation: William Tyndale and the Importance of the Scriptures' by Carl R. Trueman (pp.11-29). The author's summary is as follows:

For William Tyndale, there was an unbreakable link between the vernacular Scriptures and the reformation of the church. His doctrine of Scripture is similar to that of Luther in several ways: his confidence in its basic perspicuity; his belief that theology must be firmly rooted in, and arise out of, good exegesis; and his positing of law and gospel as fundamental categories of interpretation. Nevertheless, close examination of Tyndale's writings reveals that it is not the radical opposition of law and gospel, in the strict Lutheran sense, which shapes his theology, but that of nature and grace.

Trueman writes of "the two principal concerns of Tyndale's life, the desire to make the Bible comprehensible and the desire to promote godly living, [which are] united in the one biblical concept of covenant", and says "we are dealing with one who reworks Lutheran themes and categories to give them a meaning closer to the Augustinian-Reformed tradition than would have been acceptable in Wittenberg". Incidentally, Trueman accepts Tyndale's residence in Cambridge and Wittenberg without question. In the same volume Anthony C. Thiselton briefly, but interestingly, discusses Tyndale's hermeneutics in his lecture, 'Authority and hermeneutics', and David F. Wright contributes an introductory essay on 'William Tyndale and the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical and Theological Research', in which he refers to Tyndale's translation work and his understanding of the nature and purpose of the Bible.

The 1994 Westminster Conference in London also featured a lecture on Tyndale. This was 'William Tyndale and justification by faith: "Answer to Sir Thomas More" ' by Mark E. Dever. After sketching in the historical background Dever sets out 'the problem' ("The problem which Tyndale knew keenly was the problem of human sinfulness.") and 'the solution'. Here he quotes and expounds Tyndale:

Faith, the mother of all good works, justifieth us, before we can bring forth any good work: as the husband marrieth his wife, before he can have any lawful children by her. Furthermore, as the husband marrieth not his wife that she should continue unfruitful as before, and as she was in the state of virginity, (wherein it was impossible for her to bear fruit) but contrariwise to make her fruitful; even so faith justifieth us not, that is to say, marrieth us not to God, that we should continue unfruitful as before, but that he should put the seed of his holy Spirit in us... and to make us fruitful. For, saith Paul,... "By grace are ye made safe through faith, and that not of yourselves; for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them."

Dever next discusses the confusion that surrounded the words 'justification', 'faith' and 'alone', before ending with "several implications [that] emerge which help us to make more sense of Tyndale's time and of our own". In this section he mentions the perspicuity of Scripture, the translation of Scripture, the responsibility of teaching Scripture and the priority of Scripture. Unless one's interest in Tyndale is purely antiquarian, this is a most relevant section. The conference papers, published under the title *Building on a sure foundation*, can be ordered from J. Harris, 8 Back Knowl Road, Mirfield, West Yorkshire, WF14 9SA @ £3.75.

The other lectures printed in *A pathway into the Holy Scripture* deal with various aspects of biblical studies, while those in *Building on a sure foundation* are mainly on historical theology. (Following Mark Dever's lecture Philip H. Eveson discusses 'The Council of Trent and modern views of justification by faith'.)

The 1995 Westminster Conference will be held at Westminster Chapel, London, on 12 and 13 December. The last of the six lectures will be given by Dr David Samuel on Thomas Bilney. The conference registration fee is £8, and lunch and tea will be available at a daily rate of £7.50. Brochures can be had from John Harris, from whom the papers may be ordered at £4.50, to be published next summer.

Two articles published in 1994, which deal with Tyndale are Peter Newman Brooks, 'William Tyndale (?1494-1994): a quincentennial tribute' (*Expository times* 106/1 (Oct 1994) 14-16), and Ian Stackhouse, 'The native roots of early English reformation theology' (*Evangelical quarterly* 66/1 (Jan 1994) 19-35). Ian Stackhouse believes that in relation to the Reformation in England "there is a tendency... to ignore, or at least, underestimate, the survival of a very strong influence in the form of Wycliffite or Lollard dissent", and argues that "it is not necessary to look solely to the continent for the origins of Tyndale's theology". Stackhouse ends his abstract by stating that he has "focus[ed] on the works of William Tyndale and present[ed] him in the final analysis as more a disciple of Wycliffe than Luther".

Two books that are not recent but are not as well known as they should be, are Lewis Lupton, *Tyndale the Translator* (The Olive Tree, 1986, 176 pp.) and *Tyndale the Martyr* (The Olive Tree, 1987, 160 pp.). These two books, Volumes 18 and 19 (!) of Lupton, *A history of the Geneva Bible*, reproduced from the author's manuscript and profusely illustrated with line drawings, are a joy to read and a delight to handle. A colleague who read them, said they made him feel as if he were there. Donald Smeeton, author of *Lollard themes in the Reformation theology of William Tyndale*, contributes a foreword to the first volume, which he ends with these sentences: "In these pages you will discover some of the character and greatness of the man (sc. Tyndale). Reading about the lives of great Christians has value, Tyndale observed, if it challenges the reader to a trust in God's promises and to godly living. If your reading of this biography contributes to these ends, Tyndale would have another significant and worthy memorial." The books can be ordered from The Olive Tree, 2 Milnthorpe Road, London, W4 3DX @ £15 each.

The United Bible Societies Bulletin, no 170/1 1994, is devoted to Current trends in Bible translation. Of particular interest to Tyndale readers are the introduction by Basil A Rebera, and an article by Euan McG Fry entitled 'The Legacy of William Tyndale'. The bulletin can be ordered from the British and Foreign Bible Society, Stonehill Green, Westlea, Swindon, SN5 7DG, for £3.10.

Finally, a paperback for younger readers – Louise A. Vernon, *The Bible smuggler* (Herald Press, 0-8361-1557-0, 140 pp.). This is the story of Tyndale down to 1526 (a final paragraph rounds the story off), as told through the eyes of his fictional young companion, Collin. This is a well written book, a fine gift for any youngster – a ten-year old, on whom I tried it, found it a good read. In Britain it is most easily obtained from Metanoia Book Service, 14 Shepherds Hill, London, N6 5AQ, for £4.75 plus postage.

Peter W Coxon: *Translating the Bible*

The publication of Tyndale's New Testament and Old Testament, edited by David Daniell, and published by Yale University Press in 1989 and 1992, heralded a veritable renaissance in Tyndale studies which found expression in the Quincentenary celebration of his birth, the founding of the William Tyndale Quincentenary Trust, and not least the inauguration of the Tyndale Society which took place this year in the British Library Galleries at the British Museum. More has followed and Society members are the happy beneficiaries of *The Tyndale Society Journal* which will inform them of the riches of the English Bible and the history of English Bible translation. One of the first major academic ventures of the Society took place early this summer (14 June) in the form of a daylong seminar held in the Darwin Theatre, University College London, entitled *Translating the Bible*. Participants numbered about fifty and, in the unlikely setting of the modern Darwin Theatre, flanked by Anatomy & Engineering and not far from the stony gaze of Jeremy Bentham, were treated to a programme feast. A lively introduction to the morning session by Denis Nowlan, head of religious broadcasting, BBC North, set the tone and led in to the first lecture by Dr Michael Weitzman of the University of London: 'Translating the Hebrew Scriptures.' Michael is no stranger to Tyndale enthusiasts and on this occasion his brilliant incursions into the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, allied to his awareness of Tyndale's translational skills, had his audience enthralled. We were introduced to various aspects of Tyndale's achievements, his endeavours, as the first translator of the original Hebrew into modern English, to deal with a text bristling with inconsistencies, his drive for intelligibility and the tricky situations he faced in choosing the right word equivalent (a nice example given was 2 Kings 4.28 where Elisha's Shunammite enjoins the prophet not to lull her into a false sense of security; the AV "Don not deceive me" is correct but loses out to Tyndale's poetic riposte "...thou shouldest not bring me into a fools' paradise"! Questions were raised about the sources used by Tyndale in his work (the Septuagint, Luther, possible contacts with Jewish scholars etc.), the extent to which he took account of the meanings words have for the believing community etc., etc.

After coffee in the North Cloisters it was the turn of the New Testament, and in Professor Morna Hooker of Cambridge, we were well served by a scholarly presentation from one whose chief preoccupation for many years has been in the area of translating the Bible into modern English. In 'Translating the New Testament' there were timely remarks directed at a well-meaning but in her view misguided love of old translations for old translations' sake. We would do better to honour Tyndale's memory by endeavouring to do what he did than pay lip service to the past, to listen to the *sense* of words than luxuriate in their beauty. Tyndale laboured under severe disadvantages in a number of respects: the Greek text he used was the new critical edition of Erasmus which itself drew on inferior 12th century manuscripts which were full of mistakes and even had pages missing. Tyndale did not have the benefits of the early papyri and the great uncial manuscripts of the 4th century. Professor Hooker demarcated three areas of research for the meaning of New Testament words: the Septuagint, the context of the Jewish world, and the Greek papyri. These lines of enquiry brought us right up to date with the never ending challenge of Bible translation and the compromises that have to be made in the act of translation. In the face of so great a task we were reminded of the Italian proverb *Traduttore traditore* – 'the translator is a traitor'!

After lunch in the Old Refectory the two speakers again took to the platform and in the ensuing discussion faced the music, so to speak, of a wide variety of questions, which again afforded us a display of their immense erudition and versatility. Then it was tea and the last opportunity to meet old friends and new, and exchange ideas... and encourage the Society to promote further conferences of this kind, perhaps beyond the confines of the metropolis.

Among our contributors

Ronald Mansbridge moved to the USA from England in 1928 and worked for the Cambridge University Press, in the New York office he set up in 1949, till his retirement in 1970.

Hans-Jörg Modlmayr is a teacher and free-lance broadcaster who read English at Cambridge. He is a poet whose work frequently appears in inter-media productions, set to music by William Thomas McKinley and arising from the linocuts of Fritz Möser, whose work he has promoted in numerous exhibitions in England and throughout Europe.

Matthew King's music (see Issue 2) is available from the composer: Brook Gardens Cottage, Troy Town Lane, Brook, Ashford, Kent, TN25 5PQ. (Tel. 01233 813066)

Readers will be saddened to hear of the death in September of Donald Davie. He was one of the foremost teachers and literary critics of his generation, and a fine poet, whose best work was appearing in his final days. His wife Doreen wrote to say how impressed and pleased he was to have his poems in the last issue of this Journal.

Society Notes

- 31 January 1996 Launch of Reformation at the Jerusalem Chamber,
Westminster Abbey. 6.30-8.00pm
- 3-6 May
(Bank Holiday) Tour to Belgium (in association with Timeline Heritage Tours of
Witney, Oxfordshire). Details from Graham Hall, 1 Schofield
Gardens, Witney, Oxfordshire, OX8 5JY telephone/fax 01993
779861.
- 9 October Lecture at Lambeth Palace, London, hosted by His Grace the
Archbishop of Canterbury. Details to follow.
- 25 October Third Hertford Lecture, Oxford.
Sir Anthony Kenny.

Member's views are requested on the following suggestion:

A Tyndale Society mini-conference at St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Clwyd, North Wales in September 1997?

Revd. Ralph Werrell has suggested that Society members may be interested in such a conference, on a more modest scale, in the years when there is not an Oxford International Tyndale Conference. He suggests that there might be lectures in the morning and perhaps after dinner, with a chance to use this excellent (residential) library in the afternoon. There would be room for about 25 people.

No booking has yet been made, though the Sub-Warden at St Deiniol's is aware of the idea, and enthusiastic. A booking would depend on interest.

Please ring Ralph Werrell in the first instance, on 01926 58677.

The 1994 Tyndale Conference

As part of the celebrations of the Quincentenary Year, the first Oxford International Tyndale Conference was held in Tyndale's two colleges, Hertford and Magdalen, 5-10 September 1996. It was attended by 120 people from twelve countries.

In the first number of the Journal, March 1995, we printed an excellent brief sketch of that Conference by Professor David Norton of Victoria University, Wellington, NZ. Here we give for the first time a complete list of the papers and other events.

Papers:

How they brought the Good News to Halifax: continuities and discontinuities in English Bible translation – Professor Gerald Hammond (University of Manchester)

Cain's face, and other problems: the earliest English translations of the Bible – Dr Richard Marsden (University of Cambridge)

The whole Bible in English – Professor David Daniell (University of London)

The poetics of Tyndale's translation – Gordon Jackson (Lincoln)

The Tyndale families – Dr V.S. Carrington Tyndale (Ontario, Canada)

Tyndale's European Years – Professor Carsten Peter Thiede (Institut für Wissenschaftstheoretische Grundlagenforschung, Paderborn, Germany)

The scheme of salvation and the art of the Reformation – Professor J.B. Trapp (University of London)

William Tyndale and the course of the English Reformation – Professor Patrick Collinson (University of Cambridge)

Tyndale and Politics – Professor Christopher Hill (University of Oxford)

Kent and Christendom: Richard Harman and William Tyndale – Andrew Hope (University of Oxford)

Tyndale as Bible translator – Dr Michael Weitzman (University of London)

Robert Wakefield, Hebraist – Canon Dr Gareth Lloyd Jones (University of Wales, Bangor)

English commentaries on the Lord's Prayer: William Tyndale: Exposition upon Matthew; and Margaret Roper; Devout Treatise – Sister Anne M. O'Donnell (CUA, Washington, DC)

The Old Testament in the thought of William Tyndale – Dr G.I. Davies (University of Cambridge)

The evidence of English wills in early 16th century – Dr Judith Ford (Open University)

Problems of Biblical quotation in the 1525 Prologue – Professor John T. Day (St Olaf's College, Minnesota)

Tyndale and the blood of Christ – Revd. R.S. Werrell (Leamington Spa)

Religion in Bristol in the 1520s – Dr J.H. Bettey (University of Bristol)

Tyndale – Scholarship and Martyrdom – Elaine Storkey (London)
Andrew Gifford, 18th century Bible collector, and the Bristol Tyndale New Testament –
 Revd. Dr Morris West (Bristol Baptist College)
“Walking wide in word”: Tyndale and More as Polemicists – Professor Peter Auksi
 (University of Western Ontario)
Churchwarden’s accounts: financial and visual aspects of the Reformation – Chris Daniell
 (York)
Tyndale and More in controversy: The demise of humanist discourse and dialogue –
 Professor Andrew McLean (University of Wisconsin)
Words that did not reach AV – Professor David Norton (Victoria University of Wellington)
Tyndale’s – New Testament and Paul’s Doctrine of Justification – Dr Richard Moore
 (Baptist Theological College of Western Australia)
Apocalypse never: the refusal of Revelation in Reformation English – Laurence Coupe
 (Manchester Metropolitan University)
The temporal and spiritual kingdom: Tyndale’s doctrine and its practice – Professor Richard
 Duerden (Brigham Young University, Utah)
The Body at Prayer: determining the sincere – Ramie Targoff (University of California,
 Berkeley)
Tyndale’s Grammar – Dr Brian Cummings (University of Sussex)
John Bale and the use of English Bible imagery – C.J. Bradshaw (University of St Andrews)
Tyndale’s legacy: invested or squandered? – W.H. Stevenson (Edinburgh)
“The Noyse of the new Bible” – Professor David Scott Kastan (Columbia, New York)
Erasmus and Tyndale on Bible reading: Oratory and the Law – Matthew deCoursey
 (University of Toronto)

Most of the plenary papers and some of the short papers given at that conference will appear, with other things, in the first number of *Reformation*, which will be published on 31 January 1996. (More papers will appear in the second number of *Reformation*, in January 1997.)

Details of the second Oxford International Tyndale Conference, 2-7 September 1996, at Hertford College are on page 67. Book now!

B O O K N O W !

SECOND OXFORD INTERNATIONAL TYNDALE CONFERENCE **Hertford College, Oxford**

2-7 September 1996

‘Tyndale as heretic: the last years’

The Conference will take place partly in Oxford and partly in Leuven (possibly at no extra cost), under the general title of

Communication and the European Experience: Yesterday, Today – and Tomorrow?

Part I in Oxford: Print and Subversion: Bibles in bales of cloth

Part II in Leuven: Multi-channel activity: global networks

Main speakers include:

Professor Morna Hooker, Cambridge UK; Dr Guido Latré, Leuven, Belgium; Professor David Norton, Victoria, New Zealand; Professor Peter Aukxi, Ontario, Canada; Professor David Daniell, London UK

All enquiries to The Secretary, The Tyndale Society, 10B Littlegate Street, Oxford OX1 1QT.

CALL FOR SHORT PAPERS

There is room on the programme for short twenty-minute papers: these should be submitted to the Organizer, c/o The Tyndale Society Secretary, for consideration at the very latest by 30 May 1996.

REFORMATION

VOL. 1

The first issue of the Tyndale Society's new annual academic journal, *Reformation*, will be launched in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey on the evening of 31 January 1996. The cost of this first issue will be £35.00. (It is free to members who have subscribed as part of their membership.) The institutional rate is £45.00 plus postage.

Though *Reformation* is published by The Tyndale Society, it aims to cover matters of current interest, roughly between 1450 and 1600, in the seven fields where scholars find the study of Tyndale important: History, Theology, Bible Studies, Literature, Language, Translation Theory and Art. An international panel of subject editors for each field is nearly complete.

This first issue contains most of the plenary papers from the first Oxford International Tyndale Conference in September 1994, and some short papers. It also contains five major essays of new material: Dr Michael Weitzman on translating the Hebrew Scriptures, with particular reference to Tyndale; Professor David Norton on Tyndale's Words that did not reach AV with extended illustrations; W.R.Cooper on new evidence in the martyrdom of Richard Hunne; Bruce Marsden on the sixteenth-century origins of the language of mathematics in English, with some reference to Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall; and a reconstruction by Robert Wilkinson of Tyndale's two 'lost books', the Latin treatises he wrote in jail in Vilvorde to set out his doctrinal position for his principal inquisitor, Jacobus Latomus of Leuven: Robert Wilkinson reconstructs Tyndale's books using the Latin accounts published by Latomus's nephew after his death. The original Latin is also reproduced in facsimile, with a translation, in this first number of *Reformation*.

There is also a full review, by David Daniell, of the new book by Peter Auksi, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of Spiritual Ideal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

Details may be obtained from The Secretary of the Tyndale Society.

William Tyndale from Yale University Press

Tyndale's New Testament Edited and introduced by David Daniell

New small format paperback

When printed in Germany in 1534 and smuggled back into England, this translation of the New Testament into English from its original Greek escaped the fate of Tyndale's previous version, which was seized and publicly burnt by the authorities. An astounding work of pioneering scholarship, it became the basis of most subsequent English bibles until after the Second World War, and the version of the bible used by some of our greatest poets. Even so, it is today virtually unknown because of its suppression for political reasons and because of its difficult early sixteenth-century spelling. Now in David Daniell's new edition with modernised spellings, a masterly work of English prose by one of the great geniuses of the age is made available to today's reader.

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—Chaim Bermant, *The Observer*

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Tyndale's Old Testament Edited and introduced by David Daniell

This volume contains Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament), previously unavailable except in an out-of-print and unreliably edited Victorian facsimile, and the historical books (Joshua to 2 Chronicles) which have not been in print since 1551 and are of great importance both to scholars and to the general reader. The spelling in the texts has been updated to show them as the modern productions they once were, and Tyndale's introduction and original notes are included.

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Though *Reformation* is published by The Tyndale Society, it aims to cover matters of current interest, roughly between 1450 and 1600, in the seven fields where scholars find the study of Tyndale important: History, Theology, Bible Studies, Literature, Language, Translation Theory and Art. An international panel of subject editors for each field is nearly complete.

This first issue contains most of the plenary papers from the first Oxford International Tyndale Conference in September 1994, and some short papers. It also contains five major essays of new material: Dr Michael Weitzman on translating the Hebrew Scriptures, with particular reference to Tyndale; Professor David Norton on Tyndale's Words that did not reach AV with extended illustrations; W.R.Cooper on new evidence in the martyrdom of Richard Hunne; Bruce Marsden on the sixteenth-century origins of the language of mathematics in English, with some reference to Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall; and a reconstruction by Robert Wilkinson of Tyndale's two 'lost books', the Latin treatises he wrote in jail in Vilvorde to set out his doctrinal position for his principal inquisitor, Jacobus Latomus of Leuven: Robert Wilkinson reconstructs Tyndale's books using the Latin accounts published by Latomus's nephew after his death. The original Latin is also reproduced in facsimile, with a translation, in this first number of *Reformation*.

There is also a full review, by David Daniell, of the new book by Peter Auksi, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of Spiritual Ideal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

Details may be obtained from The Secretary of the Tyndale Society.

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